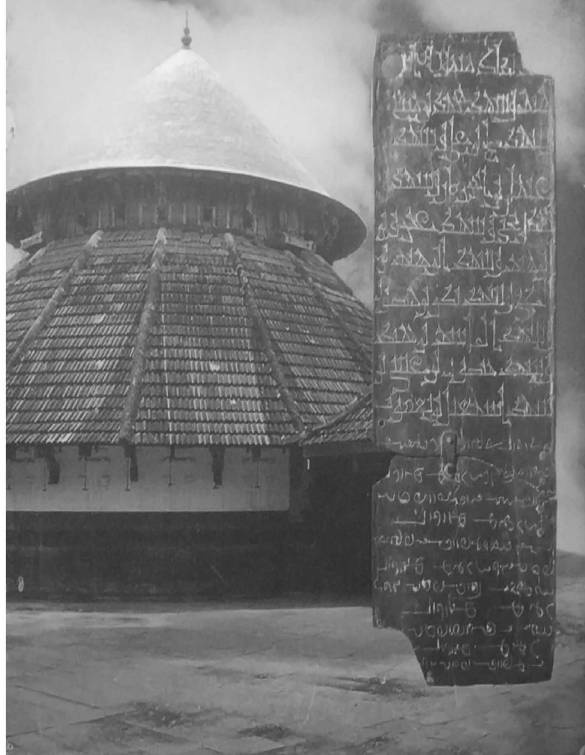


Perumals of Kerala

M.G.S. Narayanan



PERUMĀḤS OF KERALA
Brahmin Oligarchy and Ritual Monarchy

Political and Social Conditions of Kerala
Under the Cēra Perumāḥs of Makōtai
(c. AD 800 – AD 1124)

M. G. S. NARAYANAN

Index to Cēra Inscriptions

Table A - Records Dated with Regnal years and Royal names

No.	A. 1
Place:	Tiruvāṟṟuvāy in Vāḷappallī village. Owned by Mūviḍattu Maḍham, Tiruvalla.
Material:	Copper plate; single plate with writing on both sides, 5 + 5 lines. Incomplete. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
Date:	King Rājaśekhara, Rājarājādhirāja Paramēśwara Bhaṭṭāraka. Regnal Year 12, C. 830 AD. This king was immediate predecessor of Tāṇu Ravi (Coronation 844 AD) as per the testimony of Sanskrit poet Vāsubhaṭṭa, who claims to be the courtier of two kings, Rājaśekhara and Kulaśekhara.
Contents:	Temple Committee resolution in king's presence. Tiruvāṟṟuvāy Patinēṭṭu nāṭṭār, Vāḷappallī Ūrār, and Rājaśekhara dēva deciding on land grant for Muṭṭāppali (Daily Offering in temple).
Publication:	T.A.S., II, no.2, pp. 8-14. Photo, Tamil transliteration, English translation, and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, <i>Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ</i> , pp. 74-75. Malayalam transliteration of revised text, Malayalam translation, and notes.
Remarks:	Probably the earliest Cēra inscription. It begins with 'Namasśivāya' in place of the usual 'swasti śri' and mentions the coin Dināra.
No.	A. 2
Place:	Kollam (Quilon); Owned by Old Syrian Christian Seminary, Kottayam.
Material:	Copper Plate; two plates with writings on both sides of the first plate and on one side of the second plate. 12+8+7 lines. Incomplete. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
Date:	King Tāṇu Ravi, Ko. Regnal Year 5. Coronation 844 AD as per court astronomer Śankaranārāyaṇa in <i>Laghuhāskariyavyākhyā</i> , see Eḷamkuḷam, 'Sthāṇuraviyutē kālam', <i>Ēṭukaḷ</i> , pp. 95-106.
Contents:	Royal Charter. Ayyan Aṭikaḷ, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, Adhikārār, Prakriti, Maṇikkirāmam, Añcuvannam, and Punnaittalaipatti grant serfs to Tarsāppallī, the church of Tarsa. Witnesses mentioned.
Publication:	I.A., III, pp. 315 ff. Photo, Eng. Translation and notes; Gundert, M.J.L.S., XIII, I, p. 118. Eng. Translation; T.A.S., II, no.9(1), pp. 62-70. Photo, Tamil transliteration,

Eng. Translation and notes. *Īlamkuḷam*, 'Tarisāppaḷippaṭṭayam', *Prasāṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 13-17. Malayalam transliteration of revised text, Malayalam translation and notes.

Remarks: It reveals the Cēra patronage of Christianity and refers to royal dues and foundation of Kollam (Quilon) by Mār Sāpīr Iśō who founded a church also there.

No. A. 3

Place: Irinñālakkuda; formerly lying in the courtyard of Kūḍalmānikkam temple. Now fixed on the bottom portion of the inside wall of the first prakāra.

Material: Stone; single slab of granite with writing on one side. Approx 3' X 5'. 12 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.

Date: King Tānu Ravi, Ko. Regnal Year 11, 855 AD. See Kollam Tarisāppaḷi inscription of the 5th year for date of coronation.

Contents: Temple Committee resolution. Iruṅkāṭikkūṭal Parataiyār and Iḷaiyar meet and unanimously decide to lease out land for some purpose.

Publication: R.V.R.I.B., IX, I, p. 43. Earlier version published in R.V.R.I.B., VIII, II, p. 125. Malayalam transliteration, English translation and notes.

Remarks: Textual correction by present writer from original - Read 'aṇaivatu' in place of 'araivatu' in L.12.

No. A. 4

Place: Tiruvāṇṇuvāy; Owned by Mūviḍattu Mēccēri illam, Tiruvalla.

Material: Copper Plate; single plate with writing on both sides. 7+1 lines. Script - Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Tānu Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 17, 861 AD. See Kollam Tarsāppaḷi inscription of the 5th year for date of coronation.

Contents: Temple Committee resolution. Tiruvāṇṇuvāy Sabhai and Aṭikaḷmār meet and unanimously finalize Āvaṇi Ōṇam feast arrangements with land donated by Puṇṇaippaṭakāratu Cēntan Caṅkaran.

Publication: T.A.S., II, no. 9 (III) pp. 85-86. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *Īlamkuḷam*, *Parināmaṅgaḷ*, pp. 76-7. Mal. transliteration of the revised text, Malayalam translation and notes.

Remarks: It contains the earliest epigraphic reference to Ōṇam in Kerala. The hypothetical letters in brackets inserted in the T.A.S. version to conform to rules of Tamil grammar are to be deleted.

No. A. 5

Place: Tillaisthānam, Tanjore dt., Tamilnadu.

Material: Stone; slab of granite with writing on one side. 7 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Tamil.

Date: King Rājakēsarivarman, Toṇḍaināḍu Pāvaiṇa Cōlan Palyāṇai, Kō Kaṇḍan, and King Cēramān Tānu Ravi, Kō. Regnal years not mentioned. 844-5 AD. This Rājakēsarivarman was usually identified with Āḍitya Cola. For new identification and date see Dr. T.V. Mahalingam, *Kāncīpuram in Early South India History*, pp. 192-4

and also M.G.S. Narayanan, 'Sthānurvaiyūṭe Kālam- Cila Tiruttalukaḷ', *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 114-21.

- Contents:** Temple Inscription. Kadamba Mahādēvi, wife of Vikki Anṇan who was granted military honours jointly by Cōḷa and Cēra monarchs, donates sheep for maintenance of lamp in temple.
- Publication:** No. 286 of 1911. T.A.S., II, No.9 (II a) pp. 76-7. Tamil Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. S.I.I., III, p. 89. Tamil transliteration.
- Remarks:** Evidence of Cōḷa-Cēra co-operation in military ventures in Gaṅga-Kadamba region.
- No.** A. 6
- Place:** Kollam (Quilon); Owned by Old Syrian Christian Seminary, Kottayam.
- Material:** Copper Plate; three plates with writing on both sides. 13 + 14 + 14 + 13 + 21 + 15 lines. Script - Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. The third plate contains a number of signatures in Kufic (10 lines) Pahlavi (18 lines) and Hebrew (8 lines) scripts. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Tāṇu Ravi? Close of the reign? C.883 AD. Coronation 844 AD. See Kollam Tārisāppaḷḷi inscription of the 5th year for date of coronation. Ayyan Aṭikaḷ, Governor of Vēṇaṭu figures in the Kollam inscription of the 5th year as well as here but Rāma Tiruvaṭikaḷ, junior prince, also figures here.
- Contents:** Royal Charter. Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ Vijayarāgādēvar (royal representative), Ayyan Aṭikaḷ, Tiruvaṭikaḷ (senior prince of Vēṇaṭu), Rāma Tiruvaṭikaḷ (junior prince of Vēṇaṭu), Adhikārar, Prakriti, Arunūṇruvar, Punnaltalaipatti, and Pulaikkutippatti granting land and serfs to Tarsāppaḷḷi, built by Mār Sāpir Īṣō, founder of Kollam (Quilon) and conferring privileges on Aṭicuvannam, and Maṇikkirāmam.
- Publication:** T.A.S., II, no. 9 (II), pp. 80-5. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Elamkuḷam, 'Tārisāppaḷḷippaṭṭayam' *Prasnaṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 18-24. Mal. transliteration, Mal. translation and notes. For the third plate which is omitted in both publications, See C.P.T. Winkworth and others, "Foreign Signatures on Quilon Plate", K.S.P. series 6, pp. 320-23.
- Remarks:** It gives proof of the status and privileges of trading corporations in Kerala.
- No.** A. 7
- Place:** Tirunandikkara; Courtyard of the structural temple.
- Material:** Stone. Slab of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines. Incomplete. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Tamil.
- Date:** King Kulaśēkharadēva and his son-in law Vijayarāgādēva. Regnal year not mentioned. C. 883 AD. Tāṇu Ravi had the title of Kulaśēkhara according to his court astronomer Sankaranārāyaṇa and Vijayarāga acted as the royal representative according to the second set of Kollam Tarsāppaḷḷi plates. That Vijayarāga succeeded Tāṇu Ravi on the throne is clear from his titles Kērajarāja and Cēramānār in a Tiruvorriyūr Inscription of Cōḷa Parāntaka, 29th year, 936 AD, which records a donation by his daughter. He may therefore be provisionally identified with Kōta Ravi who started ruling from 883 AD according to a Neḷumpuṇam Tālī inscription of the 17th year of Kōta Ravi.

Contents: Temple Committee resolution. Tirunāḍikkarai Perumakkaḷ, Taḷiyālvān, and Kaṇakkār meeting to receive ten kaḷaṇcu of gold from Iravi Nili alias Kiḷān Aṭṭiḷ, daughter of Kulaśekharaḍēva and wife of Vijayarāgaḍēva, for Nandāvilakku in temple.

Publication: T.A.S., IV, no.36 pp. 144-5. Tamil transliteration Eng. translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'Kaṇakkār' in place of 'Kanakkar' in L.1 and 3 (correction by the present writer from the original stone). This inscription establishes the relationship between Kulaśekhara and Vijayarāga.

No. A. 8

Place: Cōkkūr, Puttūr village; Courtyard of the ruined temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on three sides. 33 + 26 + 35 lines. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal Year 15, 898 AD (Coronation 883 AD). See Neḍumpuraṁ Tālī inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17th year, for discussion of date. Since Vijayarāga the son-in law of Sthānu Ravi Kulaśekhara whose daughter was alive in 936 AD is known to have succeeded the latter, Kōta Ravi may be taken to be the personal name of the king who had Vijayarāga as his title.

Contents: Temple inscription by the founder of institution. Karkkōṭṭupurathu Kaṭampan Kumaran makes land grant for the routine expenses like Nivēḍya, Viḷakku, Śānti, Akkiram, Aṭai and Bali in Kumaranārāyaṇapura temple. Fine is prescribed for offences and Mūḷikkaḷavyavasthai is quoted. The third face of the stone seems to contain a separate inscription giving details of other, probably later, donations to the temple. Perumtaccan, Ciṇṇaraiyil Nankaiyār, Cēravannāṭṭu Ceṭṭiyār etc. mentioned there.

Publication: No. 13 of 1901. S.I.L., VII, no. 173, p. 72. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: Read 'aḍaikkū' for 'tuḍaikkū' in L. 33. 'nivēḍyappurattir' for 'nivēḍyappurathatir' in L. 39, 'aḍayum' for 'tuḍaiyūn' in L. 45 and add 'akkira' after 'Cānti' in L. 46. (correction by the present writer from original stone). This inscription is generally believed to contain the earliest reference to a nankai (dancing girl in the temple) but this is doubtful as the term occurs in the third face of the stone after the original inscription is completed. This is the earliest inscription so far discovered to refer to the Mūḷikkaḷavyavasthai or agreement of Mūḷikkaḷam quoted in records from all parts of Kerala. This was wrongly reported as belonging to Ponnanī taluk in Malabar in S.I.L., VII, p. 72 and the mistake was repeated in R.V.R.L.B., I, p. 40 and Eḷamkuḷam, Eṇṇakal, (Second Edn.), p. 82.

No. A. 9

Place: Neḍumpuraṁ Tālī, Ticcūr village. Fixed into the half wall in the entrance corridor on the left side.

Material: Stone. Two slabs of granite with writing on one side. 14+26 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 17, Jupiter in Mithuṇa, 900 AD. The passage 'Kaliyugam nālayirattumoppata' is found at the end of the inscription. This was deciphered as 'Kaliyugam nālayirattumoppata' and interpreted as Kali era 4030 by A.G. Warriar. Since that year did not agree with the position of Jupiter, Prof. Eḷamkuḷam suggested 4035, the last letters being assumed to have been lost or

damaged. However, there is no trace of additional letters even though there is enough space. The new reading offered by the present writer agrees with the position of Jupiter also. The Government epigraphists had ascribed some Kōta Ravi inscriptions to the 12th century on paleographical grounds but all of them contain the same script and language.

Contents: Temple Committee resolution. Nityavicārēśwarattu Taḷiyar, and Taḷi Adhikārar meeting in the presence of Kōtai Iravi, Governor of Venpolinātu, to accept the land grant of Ukkiramaṅgalam and Iyāṅamaṅgalam for the routine expenses of the temple including payments to Kāntarpikan, Naṅgaimār, Karaṇan, Ōrviyan and Naṭṭuvaṇār. Fine is prescribed for offences.

Publication: Nos. 344 and 343 of 1924. A.G. Warriar, "Taḷi Inscriptions of the Cochin State", *L.H.O.*, IV, pp. 154-55. Eng. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *T.A.S.*, VIII, pp. 43-45. Tamil transliteration. Parameswaran Pillai. *Prācinalikhitāṅgaḷ*, pp. 159-62. Mal. Transliteration of revised text, Mal. Translation and notes. Only the first 14 lines are given there. See also Elamkulam, *Prāśnagaḷ*, II, pp. 57-8. Discussion of date.

Remarks: The two halves of the inscription are registered separately as Nos. 15 and 17 of 1106 ME in *T.A.S.* and nos. 344 and 343 in the *A.R.S.I.E.* for 1924 without observing their connection. The content, script and proximity of the slabs indicate that they are one. Read 'uttama madhayama adhamathināl' in place of 'tavaiyam anpathināl' in L.13. (Correction suggested by V.R. Parameswaran Pillai. *Prācinalikhitāṅgaḷ*, pp. 159-62 and confirmed by the present writer from direct observation). Read 'Tirukkōyilūṭaiyar kuṟaiṇāl' for 'Tirukkōyilu... tevināl' in L. 17 (correction by the present writer). Read 'puraliyāṭam' for 'ariyāṭam' in Ll. 24, 25 & 26. Read 'kaliyukam nālāyirattumoppata' in place of 'kaliyukam nālāyirattumuppata' in L.40 in all previous versions. (Correction by the present writer).

This is the only Cēra inscription before the Kollam record of Rāma Kulāśekhara, 13th year, (1102 AD) which gives both the regnal year and another era at the same time. It mentions Naṅgalyār (temple dancing girls) as well Kāntarpikar, Ōrviyan, and Naṭṭuvaṇ.

No. A.10

Place: Aṇṭṭattūr, Paved in the courtyard of the temple near the Sōpāna.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 26 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 20. Jupiter in Kaṇṇi, Month of Vrisika, 903 AD. See Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17th year, for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Irāyiravar, Irupatteḷuvar, and the two Kuṭṭipottuvāl of Āvaṭṭiputtūr meeting in the temple and unanimously making provision for placing the Cērikkal of Cēramān Mātēviyar (Cēra queen) as a ḷief under Āvaṭṭi-puttūr. The respective rights of the Ūr Ūṭaiyavakaḷ and Ūrālār are carefully defined and Kaṭaṅkāṭṭu kaccam is quoted. Witnesses mentioned.

Publication: No. 362 of 1927. B.R.V.R.L., VIII, II, pp. 127-30. Mal. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *I.H.Q.*, IV, no. 1, pp. 154-5. Eng. Transliteration translation and notes.

Remarks: Read "niyatimunnāliyāl irunālicceytaricikku āttamum" in place of "niyamappaṭi... nāliyāl irunālicceytaricikkumuṭṭāṇṭu" in L. 6-7. Read "kuṭikaḷaikkuraivitum" in place of "kuṭikaḷkkaravitum" in L.15. Read "valayai paraivavum" in place of "palalai pareyavum" in L.16. Read "mulavāyir" in place of 'mulaktira' in L.17. Read "cāntiaṭikaṭṭuraivaigār" in L.22. (Corrections made by the present writer from original stone).

This is the only record mentioning a Cēra queen from Kerala. It is also the only record giving details of rights of Ūruṭaiyavakaḷ and Ūrālar in respect of a kīḷiṭu and one of the two records containing reference to 'Kaṭaṅkāṭṭu kaccam'. Mentions that the deed was first written out in an ōlai (palm-leaf) and then transcribed on stone.

No. A. 11

Place: Aviṭṭattūr, Paved in the courtyard of the temple to the right of the Śrīkōyil a few feet away from the Sōpāna.

Material: Stone. Slab of granite with writing on one side. 28 lines. Highly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 20. Jupiter in Kaṇṇi, Month of Vriścika, 903 AD. See Neḍumpuṟam inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17th year, for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple Committee resolution. (Irāyiravar), Irupatteḷuvar and the two kuṭippottuvāls meet and unanimously decide probably on the assignment of lands for expenses of the temple. Witnesses are mentioned.

Publication: No.361 of 1927 - Unpublished. Copied from the site by the present writer and K.K.N. Kurup on 28th February '70.

Remarks: This is a record of the same year and month as no.10 above and the same set of people are mentioned but the purpose does not appear to have been the same.

No. A. 12

Place: Aviṭṭattūr, Paved in the courtyard of the temple, a few feet away from the Sōpāna.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 18 lines. Highly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 20. Jupiter in Kaṇṇi, 903 AD. See Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17th year, for a discussion of date.

Contents: Temple Committee resolution. Irāyiravar, Irupatteḷuvar and the two kuṭippottuvāls of Āvaṭṭiṭuttūr unanimously make decisions regarding some plots which are made Kīḷiṭu of the temple. Kaṭaṅkāṭṭu kaccam is mentioned.

Publication: No. 360 of 1927. Unpublished. Copied from the site by the present writer and K.K.N. Kurup on 28th Feb. '70.

Remarks: This is a record of the same year as No.10 and No. 11 above by the same group of people, but apparently registering a different resolution.

No. A. 13

Place: Tripparaṅgōde. Originally the base of a pillar in the Śrī Kṛṣṇa shrine of the Śiva temple; transferred to the collector's bungalow, Kozhikode, and later, following a

request from the present writer, transferred to the Archaeological Museum, Trichur.

- Material:** Stone. Single block of granite with writing on four sides. 25+26+27 lines. Script - Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 27, 910 AD. See Neḍumpuṛam Tāḷi inscription of Kōta Ravi, 17th year, for discussion of date.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Tirupparaṅkōṭṭu Paraṭaimār, Ūr paṭṭār, Āḷa Kōyil, and Potuvāl, meeting in the temple and unanimously making decisions about the management and lease of the entire landed property of the temple the proceeds of which are to be used for all the routine expenditure. Tavarṅūr kaccam is quoted. Fine prescribed for offences.

Publication: No. 219 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, no. 783, pp. 337-8. Photo and Tamil transliteration. Parameswaran Pillai, *Prācīnalikḥitaṅgaḷ*, pp. 162-8. Mal. Transliteration, summary and notes. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭiṣṭhānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 45-60, Mal. Transliteration of revised text, Mal. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This is one of the three inscriptions referring to Tavarānūr kaccam, the other two being undated inscriptions of Cōkiram temple. The place name of Tavarānūr which gave the kaccam its name survives today in Tavarānūr, a village between Trippa-ṅgōde and Cōkiram (Sukapuram) on the South bank of R. Pērār. The meaning of the Kaccam is interpreted by the present writer in the passage cited above.

Read Ūr paṭṭār' for 'Ūr paṭṭār' in L.8; 'akkuru paraivitum' for 'pūkkunru-vinam' in L. 47-8, 'tuṭannai' for 'tuṭantai' in L. 74; 'Ūraḷaṅka kōyilmāṇiṭamāka' in L. 89-91. (corrections by the present writer from original stone).

No. A. 14

Place: Poṛaṇṇōṭṭiri, courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on four sides. Fourth face completely damaged. 27+25+25+2 lines. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kōta Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 27, 910 AD. See Neḍumpuṛam Tāḷi inscription of Kōta a Ravi, 17th year, for date. Name and year of the king are omitted in the published version.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Mūttār, Iḷaiyār, Koyil, Āḷakōyil, and the two Kuṭipotuvāḷs of Poṛaṇṇōṭṭūr, meet and unanimously decide to lease out Akanāḷaiccelavu, Brahmasvam, Dēvasvam, and Paṇṇuvali lands on behalf of the sabha. Fine is prescribed for offences. Mūḷikkalattu cavattai is quoted.

Publication: No. 11 of 1901. *S.I.I.*, VII, no. 171. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: Read "Kōkkōtai iravikku cellāniṅṇa yāṇṭu irupattelu" in place of "Kō--- Vikku cellāniṅṇa---pattelu" in L. 1-4. Read "Poṛaṅkōṭṭūr Mūthār" in place of "Poṛaṅkōṭṭūr amaiṇṇār" in L. 5-6. Read "Tankaḷaḷavum pērār" in place of "tavakaḷaḷavum pērār" in L. 17-8. Read "ippanpu" in place of 'ippanṭu' in L. 31-2. Read "cavattai" in place of 'caṭattai' in L. 33-4. (corrections by the present writer from original stone on 7-12-'61 and checked with estampage in the Govt. Epigraphist's office on 22-5-'70). Mūḷikkalām agreement is cited.

- No. A. 15
- Place: Indianūr, near Kōṭṭakkal. Buried in front of balikkal in temple. Recently transferred to the Department of History, Calicut University.
- Material: Stone. Single slab of granite containing two separate inscriptions, one on either side. 14 lines- Incomplete. Script - Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Kōṭa Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 27, 910 AD. See Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription of Kōṭa Ravi, 17th year, for date.
- Contents: Paṟiṭaiyār, ḷḷaiyār, ḷḷamuṭaiyār, and Potuvāl of Indianūr and the Kōyil meet in the temple to decide on utilization of land grant to the temple.
- Publication: No. 287 of 1937. Unpublished. The present writer prepared the text from the original stone.
- Remarks: This is the only slab so far discovered with inscriptions of two separate kings on either side of a single piece.
- No. A. 16
- Place: Trippūṇittuṟa. Originally part of the Western Cuṟṟampalam of Santāna Gopālākṣṇa temple; shifted to the Archaeological Museum, Trichur, after it was broken to pieces at the time of the fire in 1921 which burnt down the temple.
- Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 13 Lines. 5' x 2' x 1'. Script - Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Kōṭa Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 30, 913 AD. See Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription of Kōṭa Ravi, 17th year, for discussion of date.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Piccaipparaṭaiyār, and Potuvāl, meeting in the presence of Iravi Āticcan, who was Amaicci (Minister) unanimously regulate the affairs of the temple. Fine prescribed for offences. Written by Pūñithuṟai Cāttan Kumaran.
- Publication: T.A.S., VI, no. 52, p. 64. Tamāl transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. A.R.A.D.C. for 1927-8. Section II, pp. 11-12 and plate VII. Photo, Mal. Transliteration. Eng. translation and notes. ḷḷamkuḷam, *Paṟiṇāmaṅgaḷ*, pp. 80-1. Mal. Transliteration and notes.
- Remarks: This mentions the latest regnal year of Kōṭa Ravi so far discovered. The script was attributed provisionally to the 12th century by the Travancore Govt. epigraphists and the record itself to Kōṭa Ravi, brother-in-law of Jaṭāvarman Kuḷaśēkharadeva. However, it clearly belongs to the earlier Cēra Kōṭa Ravi of the Neḍumpuṟam Taḷi inscription, 17th year, by script and language.
- No. A. 17
- Place: Tiruvorriyūr, Madras, Tamilnadu. Built into the Verandah round the central shrine of Āḍhipurīśwara temple.
- Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 14 lines. Script-Tamil Grantha and Tamil. Language- Sanskrit and Tamil.
- Date: King Matirai Koṇḍa Parakēśari (Cōḷa Parāntaka I) Regnal year 29, 936 AD. Mentions Kēraḷarāja Vijayarāga or Cēramānār Vijayarāga dēvar as the father of the donor but he may or may not have been alive at the time.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Iravi Nīli, daughter of Kēralarāja Vijayarāga (Cēramānār Vijayarāgadēva), called Kilān Atikal in the Tamil portion, donates gold for Nandāvilakku in temple. Rate of interest specified.

Publication: No. 169 of 1912. *S.I.I.*, III, no. 103, pp. 235-6. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: This inscription which gives Vijayarāga the titles of Kēralarāja and Cēramānār, clearly establishes that this prince mentioned as Kōyil Adhikārikal (Royal representative) in the second set of Koḷam Tarsāppalli copper plates of Sthānu Ravi and as the son-in law of Kulasēkhara (this title of Sthānu Ravi is mentioned by his courtier Śankaranārāyaṇa in *Laghubbāskariyavyākhyā*) in a Tirunandikkara inscription, succeeded his father-in-law on the throne.

No. A. 18

Place: Kāvuntara. In the compound of the Ūrālan of Kāvil temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 8 line. Incomplete. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kōta Kōta, Kō. Regnal year 4. C. 943 AD. The Script and language suggest the early part of the 10th century. This king might have filled the gap or part of the gap between Kōta Ravi Vijayarāga (last known regnal year 30-913 AD) and Indu Kōta (coronation 944 AD).

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Kāvil Mūttār and Ilaiyār making some agreement regarding expenses of Viḷakku, Nivēdyam, and Śrībali in the temple.

Publication: No. 285 of 1937. Unpublished.

Remarks: This record introduces a Cēra king, who is not known from other sources. The present writer copied the text from the original stone. The second half is practically illegible.

No. A. 19

Place: Trikkākara. Left of entrance into the temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 10 lines, each spreading out on several stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kēraja Kēsari, Perumāl. Regnal year Nil (damaged), C. 913 AD. This endowment for the routine expenses of the temple may belong to the time of the foundation or renovation of the temple. The earliest dated inscription from this temple belongs to the 10th year of Indu Kota, i.e. 953 AD. Therefore this record and the king mentioned there may be assigned to the period prior to 943 A.D, the starting point of Indu Kota's reign. The script and language belong to the early part of 10th century. This is the view of the Government Epigraphist also. It is likely that Kēraja Kēsari may be the coronation name of a king, probably Kōta Kōta whose record as found at Kāvuntara.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Land is set apart for meeting expenses of Tiruvamirtu, Pūtapali, Oḷukkavi, Cānti, Paḷittāman and Tiruvakkiram and for the payment of temple servants. Fine for default is prescribed.

Publication: T.A.S., III, no. 46. pp. 186-8. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Engl. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This record appears to contain the original endowment of Trikkākara Viṣṇu temple, one of the foremost Vaiṣṇava centres in Kerala, associated with Ōṇam celebration and mentioned by Nammālvār.

No. A. 20.

Place: Mānipuram. Courtyard of the private temple in the compound of Makkāṭṭu maṇa, Paṛambathu Kāvu.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 23 lines. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Indu Kōta, Kō. Regnal year 3. 946 AD (coronation 943 AD). The name of the king is not found in the published version. See Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 16th year and 17th year for date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Potuvāl and Paraṭaiyār make some arrangements with land set apart for akanāḷikai expenses of the temple and lamps there.

Publication: No. 12 of 1901. *S.I.I.*, VII, no. 172, pp. 71-2. Tamil transliteration. The royal name was deciphered by the present writer from the original stone. (7-12-'61).

Remarks: Read 'Swasti Śrī Kōvintukkōtai varmarukku' in place of '----- n----- nukku' in Ll. 1-2. Read 'Potuvāḷum Paraṭaiyārum mānipurattu tēvarkku' in place of 'aṭaiyanum patuvanma----- Tēvarkku' in Ll. 4-5. (corrections by the present writer from the original stone.) This is the earliest regnal year of Indukōtai found in inscriptions and the same year is found in another inscription at Pudukkōḍe also.

No. A. 21

Place: Pudukkōḍe. West passage of the Bhagavati temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 9 lines (incomplete) Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King. Indēśwaran Kōtai (Indu Kōta), Kō. Regnal year 3. 946 AD. (Coronation 943 AD). See Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 16th year and 17th year, for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Contents beyond the first three lines illegible. Paṭiṇeṭṭunāṭṭār of Pudukkōḍe mentioned.

Publication: No. 354 of 1924, unpublished. The present writer examined the original and checked his text with the estampage in the Govt. Epigraphists' office, Mysore, on May '71.

Remarks: This, along with the previous one from Mānipuram, gives the earliest regnal year of the king found in inscriptions. This is one of the two inscriptions giving the name of Indu Kōta as Indēśwaran Kōta, which was probably his full name. The other one of the 17th year comes from Neḍumpuram Tāḷi temple.

No. A. 22

Place: Tiruvanaṇḍūr. Base of the cuṭṭumaṇḍapa.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines. Incomplete and damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Indu Kōtai, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 5? 948 AD? See Trikkākara inscriptions of Indu Kōta, 16th year and 17th year, for date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Munnūṟṟuvar of Nanṟulaināṟu and three others making some arrangements in the temple.

Publication: T.A.S., V, no. 10, p. 34. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This damaged and incomplete inscription established the fact that terms like Munnūṟṟuvar are applied not to the body of three hundred as a whole as interpreted by scholars till now, but to one person, probably the leader of that body. It is clearly mentioned that Munnūṟṟuvar and three others made a group of four at the meeting in the temple. The earlier assumption had led some scholars to visualize democratic assemblies of three hundred, five hundred, six hundred etc. and consequently a republican government in Kerala.

No. A. 23

Place: Tirumūḷikkāḷam. East base of the curṟumaṇḍapa in the temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 8 lines. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Indu Kōṭa, Kō. Regnal year 5, 948 AD. See Trikkākara inscriptions of Indu Kōṭa, 16th year and 17th year, for date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. The Śrīkāryam (affairs of the temple) is regulated. Provision for Tiruvamirtu, Nivēdyam, Uttamākkiram for Cāttirar, and Tiruviḷakku are mentioned.

Publication: T.A.S., III, no.48, pp. 189-91. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *Elamkuḷam, Parināmaṅgaḷ*, p. 81. Mal. Transliteration and notes.

Remarks: This is the earliest inscription from the Mūḷikkāḷam temple, made famous by the Mūḷikkāḷa kaccam or agreement of Kerala. The original of the Mūḷikkāḷa kaccam has not been traced.

No. A. 24

Place: Trikkākara. Courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 18 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Indēśvaran Kōṭa (Indu Kōṭa), Kō. Regnal year 10 (5 + 5), Jupiter in Mīṇam, Month of Mēṭam, 953 AD. See Trikkākara inscriptions of Indu Kōṭa, 16th year and 17th year, for date.

Contents: Temple inscription. Record of gift of lamp and land by Catiraśikhāmaṇi alias Kijān Aṭikaḷ, probably a Cēra princess (also called Perumāṭṭiyar) for Nandāviḷakku and Tiruvakkiram. Fine is prescribed for default by the Uḷpāṭan.

Publication: T.A.S., III, no. 36, pp. 169-171. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *Elamkuḷam, Parināmaṅgaḷ*, pp. 81-2. Mal. Transliteration and notes.

Remarks: Read 'irutuṭam neyyum' in both the published texts in place of 'irutulām neyyum' in LL 7-8. (correction by the present writer from the original).

This inscription confirms the fact, noticed earlier in the case of the wife and daughter of Vijayarāgaḍēva, that Cēra princesses were known by the general title Kijān Aṭikaḷ.

- No. A. 25
- Place: Trikkākara. South base of the proper right of entrance into the temple.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite. 7 lines, each spread over all the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Indu Kōta (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 16 (11 + 5) Jupiter in Cīṅgam, 959 AD. Velliyaṇpaḷḷi Pōḷan Cāttan, a witness in this record and in another Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 17th year, must be the father of Velliyaṇpaḷḷi Cāttan Kumaran who figures as witness in a Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 13th year. (A Series) 975 AD. See Index No. A. 30. Panṭitturutti Kaṇṇan Pōḷan, a witness, must be the father of Panṭitturutti Pōḷan Kumaran of Bhāskara Ravi, year 31, (B series) from the same place. See Index No. A. 45. These and the similarity of script and language go to establish that Indu Kōta was the immediate predecessor of Bhāskara Ravi (A series- initial year 962 AD). For other instances of witness identity in Indu Kōta and Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions, refer Trikkākara inscription, of Indu Kōta, 17th year and Eḷamkuḷam, *Prasnaṅgal*, II, pp. 146-148 also. The latest regnal year mentioned for Indu Kōta is seventeen. He came to the throne when Jupiter stood in Mithuṇam. Therefore, his accession to power may be placed in 943 AD on the assumption that he did not have a long rule beyond the 18th year of his reign.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Kaṇṇan Puṇayan, governor of Kāḷkkarainātu, surrenders land partly as gift and partly in return for gold from the Uḷpātan and Perumūtiyan of Tirukkāḷkkarai. The proceeds of the land are to be used for Tiruvakkiram, Āṟātinai, Kānci, Nandāvilakku, etc. by leasing it out to tenants. Fine is prescribed for offences and witnesses and the scribe are mentioned. Mūḷikkāḷam kaccam is quoted.
- Publication: T.A.S. III, no. 35, pp. 161-9. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Paripaṇāmaṅgal*, pp. 84-5. Mal. Transliteration and notes (Extracts only).
- Remarks: This inscription provides the clue to the date of Indu Kōta through witnesses' names. It also helps to identify the period of other inscriptions where the king's name is not mentioned or the regnal year is doubtful.
- This inscription illustrates the procedure of purchase of land by the temple. Read 'Pūmiyūm pulaiyaraḷiyum' in place of 'pūmiyūm puṇaivareyūm' in T.A.S., and 'pūmiyūm karayūm' in Eḷamkuḷam, *Paripaṇāmaṅgal*, in LI. Read 'akkira' in place of 'akkiram' in LI. 2 & 3. Read 'muḷḷu muyiru mūrkkapāmpum' in place of 'muḷḷu muyiru makkavamaiyūm' in L.4. Read 'amaccuḷḷurutta' in place of 'amaccuḷḷu-marra' in L.4. Delete 'r', 'ka', 'cu' and 'm' put in brackets in T.A.S. version to suit the Tamil grammatical rules in LI. 5 and 6. (corrections by the present writer from the original).
- No. A. 26
- Place: Trikkākara. Outside base of the south and east cūrṇmaṇḍapa of the temple.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite. 6 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Indu Kōta, Kō. Regnal year 17. Month of Dhanu. This portion and the portion showing position of Jupiter are damaged but Kaṇṇan Puṇayan, Governor of Kāḷkkarainātu, Velliyaṇpaḷḷi Pōḷan Cāttan, one of the witnesses, and Kumankottu

Iravi Kunṛappōlan, the scribe who appeared in Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 16th year, appear in this too. Moreover the term 'Kaṅgi' may be made out with difficulty in the passage related to Jupiter position. Therefore, the record may be attributed to the 17th year when Jupiter stood in Kaṅgi. 960 AD.

Perumaṇaikkōṭṭattu Kēcavan caṅkaran, a witness in this record, figures as witness in another Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 6th year, (A series) also thus confirming the assumption that Indu Kōta was immediate predecessor of Bhāskara Ravi (A Series) who came to throne in 962 AD. Perumaṇaikkōṭṭattu Caṅkaran Tāmodaran appears in a Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 31 year (B series).

Contents: Temple committee resolution, Kaṇṇan Puṛaiyan, governor of Kāḷkkaramāṭu, surrenders to the temple, in return for payment of gold by Neṭiya taḷi Cōlacikāmaṇi, plots of land exempting them from the payment of all dues to nāṭu, Vāḷkai and Pati. Witnesses and scribe are mentioned.

Publication: T.A.S., III, no. 37, pp. 171-3. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This inscription is also helpful in fixing the period of Indu Kōta in relation to Bhāskara Ravi. Read 'Kaṅṇiyil viyālan' in place of '.....vīyālan' in L.1. Read 'nāṭṭiṇṇu vāḷkkaikkum patikkum' in place of 'nāṭṭiṇṇu vāḷkkaikkum paṇikkum' in L.4. (Corrections by the present writer from original).

No. A. 27

Place: Neṭumpuṛam Taḷi. Built into the half wall of the entrance corridor of the temple on the left side.

Material: Stone. Two slabs of granite with writing on one side. 20+18 lines. Second part highly damaged. Incomplete. Script-Vatteluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Indēśvaran Kōta (Indu Kōta), Kō. Regnal year 17 (11 + 6). Jupiter in Kaṅgi. 960 AD. See Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 16 the year and 17th year, for date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Nityaviyārēśvarattu Patinēṭṭu Nāṭṭar and Adhikārikaḷ meet in the presence of Maṇalmanrattu Iyakkān Intirāyi Kōyil, Governor of Neṭumpuṛaiyūrnāṭu, in the shrine of Perumāṇār Pāṇṭan Cēnnaṇ and unanimously decide to lease out some land for Akkiram to Ukkiramaṅgalam Pāṭṭamāḷumavan. The mode of serving Akkiram and the means of overcoming difficulties are elaborated. Fine is prescribed for offences. Donors of Uttamākkiram including Mēṇṇalippuṛattu Caṅkara Naṅgacci are mentioned by name.

Publication: Nos. 341 and 342 of 1924. Nos. 6 and 13 of 1106 ME from cochin. T.A.S., VIII, p.43 and p.41. Tamil transliteration. The two portions presented as two separate inscription without observing their connection.

Remarks: Read, 'Iyakkān Intirāyi' in place of 'Iyakkān-----' in L.4 (First stone). Read 'ari ulvavaiyippicu' in place of 'ari ulava vaiyippicu' in L.12. Read 'ārātikkumaṭi kaḷaikoṇṭu' in place of 'ārātikkumatikkēkkōṇṭu' in L.12-13. Read 'irukkūpu paraiyūm' in place of 'irukapparaiyūm' in L.17. Read 'kurai paraiṇṇu kēlpiccu' in place of 'kurai patiṇṇu kēlpiccu' L.19. Read 'muṭṭirattiyaḷ' in place of '.....yaḷ' in L.21 (Second stone). This inscription mentions a shrine of Perumāṇār Pāṇṭan Cēnnaṇ, perhaps related to Pāṇḍya king Cēnnaṇ or Jayan-

tavarman. Brings out the importance of Viṣu in the months of Appiṣai and Cittirai. It mentions Uttamākkiram (for Cāttirar) and Caṅkara Naṅgacci (dancing girl of the temple.)

- No. A. 28
- Place: Trikkākara. Built into the outside wall of the south base of the first Prākāra on the right of entrance to the temple.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite. 5 lines which spread across the wall space moving from stone to stone. Incomplete. Script-Vatṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (varma) Kō. Regnal year 6 (2 + 4), (A series). Jupiter in Itavam, 968 AD. (Initial year 962 AD). Some Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions reckon the regnal years from an initial year with Jupiter in Dhanu; some others from an initial year with Jupiter in Mētam; and in a few others the Jupiter position is uncertain. They all belong to the same period as illustrated by the similarity of script and language. Therefore, the present writer has classified them into Series A, B and C for the sake of convenience, assuming that the two beginnings correspond respectively to an actual succession in childhood and a formal coronation at a later stage. The Bhaskara Ravi inscriptions of Series A, B and C are listed separately for easy reference, disturbing their chronological sequence to some extent. For the initial year of Series A, refer discussion of date of Perunna inscription of the 14th year, 976 AD.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Ulpāṭan and Perumutiyan of Tirukkāikkarai hand over gold donated by Ciṟumaṇṇappuḷai Kōtai Kēraḷan for Akkiram to four brothers and accept as security their joint-family property which they are to cultivate as tenants of the temple, considering the rent as interest for the permanent loan. Rate of interest is indicated. Witnesses are mentioned.
- Publication: T.A.S. III, no. 42. pp. 179-182. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Pariṇāmaṅgaḷ*, p. 86. Mal. Transliteration and notes (Extracts only).
- Remarks: The donor, Ciṟumaṇṇappuḷai Kōtai Kēraḷan, appears in a Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 31st year, (B series) also. Perumaṇaikkōṭṭattu Kēcavan Caṅkaran, a witness in this record, is the same person who appears in another Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōta, 17th year - a fact which establishes the Indu Kōta-Bhāskara Ravi sequence. Perumaṇaikkōṭṭattu Caṅkaran Tāmōṭaran, who appears in a record of the 31st year, (Series B- Index No. A.45) must be the son of this person. This inscription throws light on a permanent loan system by which gold of the temple was transferred to tenants in return for annual dues. The coin 'Paḷaṅkācu' is mentioned.
- No. A. 29
- Place: Pantalāyaṇi Kollam. The upper frame of the Śṛikōyil entrance in Taḷi temple.
- Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 25 lines? (21 + 4?) It appears that two lines at the beginning and two lines at the end are built over in the present structure. Script-Vatṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Bhāskara Ravi? Regnal year 11 (2 + 9) (A series?). Jupiter in Tuḷām Month of Mētam. AD 973. The first two lines containing the name of the king are built over but since the position of Jupiter in the 11th year agrees with the record

Bhāskara Ravi (A series) this record may provisionally be assigned to him. The character of script and language agree.

Contents: Temple inscription. The consecration of a temple in presence of Amaicullurutti Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ is recorded along with an endowment in gold for its maintenance.

Publication: Nil. This record was recently discovered and deciphered by the present writer on information from Ramachandran of Eḷayidathu house.

Remarks: This record brings out the date of establishment of the temple. The orthographic and linguistic features are of late 10th century supporting the identification of the king with Bhāskara Ravi (A series) based on the position of Jupiter in the 11th year of the reign.

No. A. 30

Place: Trikkākara. Outside wall of the east base of the curṇmaṇḍapa of the temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite. 9 lines, each of them spread over the stones and the last line built over. Incomplete. Script-Vatṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 13 (2 + 11) (A series). Jupiter in Makaram, 7th day, Month of Vriścikam, 975 AD. The year portion was wrongly deciphered as 23 (2 + 21) by the Government Epigraphist of Travancore. See Perunna Inscription 14th year (A series) for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Uḷpāṭan and Perumutiyan of Tirukkalkkarai lend gold and receive land as security nominating the owners themselves as tenants of the temple paying fixed annual dues. Mentions the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. Witnesses are mentioned.

Publication: T.A.S., II, no. 7 (D), pp. 38-40. Photo, Tamil Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'Iraṇṭāmāṇṭaikkettir orupattōrāmāṇṭu' in place of 'Iraṇṭāmāṇṭaikkettir irupattōrāmāṇṭu' in L.I. Read 'palankāyainoppata' in place of 'palankāyainopatu' in L.2. (Corrections by the present writer from the original stone) Vēlḷiyānpalli Cāttan Kumaran who figures as witness here is the son of Vēlḷiyānpalli Pōlan Cāttan who figures in the same capacity in two Trikkākara inscriptions of Indu Kōṭa, 16th year and 17th year. This establishes the Indu Kōṭa-Bhāskara Ravi sequence. This presents another instance of permanent loan of gold from temple in lieu of share in cultivation. The coin 'Palankācu' is mentioned. Śrīvaiṣṇavas are mentioned. The year portion was wrongly deciphered as 23 (2 + 21) by the government epigraphists of Travancore. This mistake was pointed out by Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, p. 144. F.N. It is clear from the photo published in T.A.S. also.

No. A. 31

Place: Trikkāḍithānam. West and south base of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 4 lines, each line spreading over the stones. Script-Vatṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varman), Kō. (A Series). Regnal year 14 (2 + 12), 976 AD. This inscription does not indicate the position of Jupiter and as such it cannot be directly ascertained whether it belongs to series A or B. However, this inscription

of the 14th year which mentions the appointment of Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, as Governor of Nanṇulaināṭu, must be placed in the same year as the Perunna inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 14th year, which mentions this Governor in the dual capacity cited above. Therefore, it really belongs to Series A and is treated as such for calculation of date. See Perunna inscription, 14th year (A Series for discussion of date).

- Contents:** Royal order. The Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ (royal representative) appoints Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, as Governor of Nanṇulaināṭu also, fixes the annual dues from Tirukkaṭittānam, and orders the institution of Akkiram with the balance. Fine for violation of the order is prescribed.
- Publication:** T.A.S., II, no.7, (A), p. 33. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes (incomplete). T.A.S., V, no.56, pp. 176-8. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** This is the only record so far discovered which mentions the appointment of the governor of a province. The fixation of annual dues from the temple is also worthy of notice.
- No.** A. 32
- Place:** Trikkāṭithānam. Upper face of the narrow Upāna (lowermost stone member) of the base of the central shrine.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on the narrow surface projecting outside. 1 line spread out on the stones. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 14? (2 + 12?) (A series) 976 A.D? The regnal year portion is damaged and there is no mention of Jupiter position. However, the mention of Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa, Governor of Vēṇaṭu and Nanṇulaināṭu, as the ruling chieftain, and the reference to the decision to continue the festival instituted by Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, suggest that the record was produced immediately after the death of Śrīvallavan Kōta and the appointment of Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa as governor of the province. This latter event is mentioned in Trikkāṭithānam record of the 14th Year, (No. 31) cited above. Therefore, this record belongs to A Series and is taken as such for calculation of date. See Perunna Inscription, 14th year (A Series), for discussion of date.
- Contents:** Temple committee Resolution. While (Gōvarttana) Mārttāṇḍa was ruling over Nanṇulaināṭu, Uttirakkaṇattār of Tirukkaṭittānam, Niḷal and Paṇi decide to continue the Uttiraviḷa instituted by Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, even year in the month of Kumbham, with the usual routine of flag hoisting in Kārtikai, Brahmin feeding, Kūttu for ten days etc.
- Publication:** T.A.S., V, II, no. 61, PP. 187-9. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Elamkulam, Praśnaṅgaḷ, II, p. 138. Mal. Transliteration, Mal. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** This record establishes the Śrīvallavan Kōta-Gōvardhana Mārttāṇḍa sequence in Vēṇaṭu which confirms the dating of Bhāskara Ravi based on astronomical data since the Māmpaḷḷi copper plate gives a firm date - 149 ME or 974 AD in the governorship of Śrīvallavan Kōta. This is also one of the few records referring to the performance of Kūttu in temple.

- No. **A. 33**
 Place: Perunna, base of the central shrine
 Material: Stone. Block of granite. 2 lines running through the stones. (Beginning and end damaged or displaced.) Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
 Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 14 (2 + 12) (A Series). Jupiter in Makaram, 29th of Miṇam, Sunday, Puṇartam nakṣatra. The King's name is not in the text which begins with the regnal year. However, the mention of a governor of Vēṇaṭu who ruled over Nanṇulaināṭu makes it certain that it refers to Gōvarttana Mārttāṇḍa, feudatory of Bhāskara Ravi, mentioned as such in several inscriptions. Therefore, it is inferred that the king is Bhāskara Ravi, over-lord of Gōvarttana Mārttāṇḍa.

This record must be later than 149 ME (973 AD) when Śrīvallavan Kōta was the Governor of Vēṇaṭu. See *E.I.*, IX, p. 234 ff and *T.A.S.*, IV, no. 1, pp. 1-11. Gōvarttana Mārttāṇḍa is posterior to Śrīvallavan Kōta as a Trikkāṭhānam inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 14th year, mentions the former in the present tense and the latter in the past tense. Swāmikkannu Pillai calculated that the record could belong to 1060 AD but this makes Bhāskara Ravi's rule project into the period of Rāma Kulaśekhara. Elamkulam has rejected this date. His new date, 976 AD, agrees with all the astronomical data. It also suits the Śrīvallavan Kōta-Gōvarttana Mārttāṇḍa sequence. Therefore the initial year of Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions (A series) must be placed in 962 AD.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Perunneytal Ūr, Potuvāḷ and Kiḷkkulaṅgarai sabha and Nārāyaṇan ciritaran of Pantāvūr meet in the presence of the governor of Vēṇaṭu ruling over Nanṇulaināṭu also. The rest is damaged.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, no. 7 (B), p. 34. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation, and notes. Elamkulam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, pp. 40-5. Mal. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This short inscription with full astronomical data provides the basis for calculating the initial year of Bhāskara Ravi (A Series) Inscriptions.

No. **A. 34**

Place: Cochin. Owned by the Jewish synagogue of Mattancheri, Cochin.

Material: Copper. Two plates with writing on both sides of the first and one side of the second plate. 28 lines (9 + 10 + 9). Script- Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varman), Kō Kōnmai Koṭṭān Kō. Regnal year 38, (2 + 36) (A series) 1000 AD. This inscription does not mention the position of Jupiter. However, Gōvarttana Mārttāṇḍa, who became governor of Vēṇaṭu after Śrīvallavan Kōta in the 14th year of Bhāskara Ravi (976 AD), is found in this record of the 38th year also. If this record is placed in the B Series and dated 1016 AD it will be necessary to assume that Gōvarttana Mārttāṇḍa governed for an unusually long period of 42 years. Moreover, the Cēra capital had already fallen to the enemy before that date. Therefore, it is more appropriate to place the record in the A Series and assign it to 1000 AD. See Perunna inscription, 14th year (A Series for discussion of date).

Contents: Royal Charter. While staying at Muyirikkōḍe, the sovereign is pleased to grant Issuppu Irappān (Jospeh Rabban) a copper plate giving him Añcuvannam and

other privileges and exempting him from all payments made by other settlers at the same time extending to him all the rights of other settlers. These are given in perpetuity to all his descendants. The document is attested by the governors of Vēṇaṭu, Vempalanāṭu, Eṛālanāṭu, Vaḷḷuvanāṭu, Neḍumpuṇayūrnāṭu and Commander of the forces and signed by the official scribe.

Publication: *E.I.*, III, p. 68 ff. Photo, Eng. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *Ēlamkūḷam, Praśṅgaṅal*, pp. 32-4. Mal. Transliteration of the revised text, Mal. Translation and notes. There has been a long controversy over the date and content of these plates, which were among the first few from Kerala to attract the attention of scholars. For a history of the Plates and a history of the studies related to plates, see Gopinatha Rao, 'Some Inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvadī', *T.A.S.*, II, p. 31; Walter J. Fischel, 'The Exploration of the Jewish Antiquities of cochin on the Malabar Coast', *The Cochin Synagogue 400th Anniversary Souvenir*, pp. 126-150; (this was reproduced in *Charitram*, no.1, pp. 9-28); M.G.S. Narayanan, 'The Jewish Copperplates of Cochin'. *Charitram*, no. 3. For early attempts at decipherment, interpretation and dating, see *M.J.L.S.*, XIII, I, p. 137; *Ibid.* New series, V, p. 42.

Remarks: This record brings out the status and importance of the Jewish colony in the Cēra Capital and the relationship between the king and Jews in the period of the Cōḷa invasion. It gives the names of some of the chief feudatories of the Perumāḷ and proves that the ancient name of Mucirī persisted in Muiyirikkōḍe.

No. A. 35

Place: Trikkākara. Base of the front maṇḍapa.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 4 lines each running across the stones. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal 42 (40? + 2) (Series A) 1004 AD. Jupiter in Mīṇam. The regnal year portion is damaged. It reads 'nālppat..... ṇṭaikkettir iraṇṭamāṇṭu', the intervening letter or letters being irrecoverable. This makes it 'Forty... + second year.' However, the mention of Jupiter in Mīṇam shows that it can either be 42nd year of A Series or 48th year of B Series. If we take it to belong to the B Series, it is to be dated in the 63rd year of the king (1026 AD). Since the last known regnal years are 58 of A Series (1020 AD) and 43 of B Series (1021 A.D.) and further extension is highly improbable, this record may safely be assigned to the 42nd year of A series and dated 1003 AD. See Perunna inscription of 14th year (A series) for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple inscription. Kuvalāyini Kōvinnan Kuṇṇappōlan donated gold which Neṭiyatali Puṇaiyan invested in land in such a way as to be able to meet the expenses of a three day feast for Brahmins and Śrīvaiṣṇavas. The provisions for the feast are mentioned.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, no. 7 (L), pp. 46-8. Tamil transliteration. Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This record enables the calculation that there were 25 Śrīvaiṣṇava Brahmins attached to this temple.

No. A. 36

Place: Tirunelli. Owners not to be traced.

Material: Copper. Two plates with writing on both sides. 10 + 9 + 8 + 10 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

- Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 46 (A Series). Jupiter in Cīṅgam. Month of Makaram. 1008 AD. See Perunna inscription, 14th year, (A Series) for discussion of date.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Caṅkaran Kōta Varman, alias Atikaḷ Puraikilār, Niḷal and Paṇi make a land-gift to temple for conducting feast in the temple, handing over the land to Ūrālār, Sanyāsikaḷ and Yōgikaḷ and making it a 'Kūḷṭu' of Puraikilānāṭu Aiññūṭṭuvar. Mūlikkaḷattu kaccam is quoted. The land was purchased from Karaññānūr Sabha in return for payment in gold Kācu.
- Publication:** I.A., XX, pp. 285-90. Photo, Eng. Transliteration, translation and notes. Parameswaran Pillai, *Prācīnalikhitaṅgaḷ*, pp. 175-80. Mal. Transliteration and notes. Elamkuḷam, *Prasnaṅgaḷ*, 1963, Appendix II, pp. 308-9. Mal. Transliteration of the revised text; last seven lines omitted.
- Remarks:** This record proves the extension of Bhāskara Ravi's authority to Puraikilānāṭu (North Kottayam in modern times).
- No.** A. 37
- Place:** Tirumūḷikkaḷam. Base of the Vātilmāṭam
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines each of them running across the stones. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 48 (48 + 0). A series. 1010 AD. This record does not contain any mention of the position of Jupiter. However, since records of the B Series are known only up to the 43rd year, 1021 AD this record may safely be placed in the A series and assigned to 1010 AD. See Perunna inscription, 14th year, (A series) for discussion of date.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Ūr of Tirumūḷikkaḷam and Potuvāḷ meet in the temple decide unanimously to lease out the Cērikkal lands donated by Manukulādiccan. Mūlikkaḷa kaccam is quoted.
- Publication:** T.A.S., II, no. 7 (K), pp. 45-6. Photo. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** Read 'Mūlikkaḷakkacca' in place of '...li...la kacca' in L. 2. Read 'iraṇṭukūṭiccamaiñcitarum' in place of 'iraṇṭukūṭikkamaiñcitarum', 'iruṅgāṭikkūṭalum' in place of 'iruṅgāṭi kaṇṭālaum' and 'paraṭaiyārum' in place of 'ūrvāriyārum' in L.3. (corrections by the present writer from original stone). The gift of Manukulāditya is mentioned, but this Manukulāditya was left unidentified until the present writer brought out the Pullūr Kōḍavalam inscription of the 58th year (A series) which provides that Bhāskara Ravi had the little of Manukulāditya.
- No.** A. 38
- Place:** Trikkadithānam, West base of the central shrine of the temple.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 1 line running across the stones. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma) Kō. Regnal year 48. A Series. Jupiter in Tuḷām. This has been wrongly attributed to the 2nd year and 1st year in T.A.S., V, no. 62, p. 190 and Elamkuḷam, *Prasnaṅgaḷ*, II, p. 46 respectively. (The position of Jupiter would not suit the interpretation.) If 48 is taken to be the number of days in the first regnal year - it is unusual to speak of days beyond a month - and not as the num-

ber of years, the position of Jupiter (Iṭavam) given in the Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 6th year, would be out of place. Moreover, 'tulāttil viyālam nirṇa' will not go with the statement of the day. (On the hand the position of Jupiter in Tulām agrees with the 48th year of Bhāskara Ravi (A series) inscription.) See Perunna inscription 14 year (A series) for discussion of date.

- Contents:** Temple inscription. Muḷakkāṭṭu Iyakkan Kōvinnan, making provision on Chitra Viṣu day for Nandāvilakku and Tiruvāmirtu for 12 Brahmins on every Amāvāsi day in the temple. The nature of the transaction is not clear as a big plot of 400 kalam, yielding 4800 para of paddy considerably out of proportion with expenses involved, is mentioned in this connection. Perhaps this conveys the idea that he had already returned the big 400 kalam plot which he had taken up earlier on lease.
- Publication:** T.A.S., II, no. 7, (J), p. 45. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. T.A.S., V, no. 62, p. 190. Tamil transliteration of revised and fuller text, Eng. Translation and notes. Elamkulam, *Prasnaṅgaḷ*, II, p. 46. Mal. Transliteration of extracts and notes.
- Remarks:** The Last sentence of the text may be reconstructed as 'iccelavu nanṇuḷaināṭṭu munṇūruvarum celutta kkaṭavar' in the place of 'iccelavu.....nūru.....celutta....' and the record completed. (Correction by the present writer from original stone).
- No.** A. 39
- Place:** Pullūr. Courtyard of the Koḍavalam temple.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 14 lines. Script-Vaiṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Bhāskara Ravi, Manukulāditya. Regnal year 58. A Series. Jupiter in Karkkaṭaka. 1020 AD. The regnal year was misunderstood as 55 by the Govt. Epigraphist. A.R.L.E, 1963-4, no. 125. See Perunna inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 14th year, (A Series) for discussion of date.
- Contents:** Kuḍavalattu Ūrālar install the inscribed stone showing 3 kaḷaṇcu as the amount of Āṭṭaikkōl (annual dues) fixed by royal order to be paid to the sovereign.
- Publication:** No. 125 of 1963-4. It has not been officially published. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭṭhāna-Śilakaḷ*, pp. 69-78. Eye copy, Mal. transliteration, translation and notes. See also M.G.S. Narayanan, 'The Identity and Date of king Manukulāditya', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1969.
- Remarks:** The date portion was read by the Govt. of India Epigraphist as indicating the 55th year probably by deciphering the text as 'aiympattayāmāṇṭu' in LI. 5-6. The present writer corrected it from original stone as 'aiympattēṭṭāmāṇṭu' which gives the 58th year and also suits the position of Jupiter in 'Karkkaṭaka' of the Bhāskara Ravi (A series) inscription. This short inscription has revealed the identity of Bhaskara Ravi Manukulāditya. Scholars like R.G. Bhandarkar, S.V. Venkateswara Ayyar, Prof. K.V. Krishna Ayyar, Prof. Elamkulam and S. Sanku Ayyar had previously identified Manukulāditya with different other kings. The present identification helps the dating of Sanskrit philosopher poet Sarvajñātma and Sanskrit Yamaka poet Nārāyaṇa. This record also proves the extension of Bhāskara Ravi's authority to Kōlattunāṭu in the northern part of Kerala, the fact of which was doubted by scholars before. See M.G.S. Narayanan, *Op. cit.*, 'The Identity and Date of King Manukulāditya', *Op. Cit.*

- No. A. 40
- Place: Eramam – Site of the ruined Cālappuṟam temple.
- Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on three sides. 15 lines. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma). Regnal year 58. A series. Jupiter in Karkkātaka. 1020 AD. This king's name was confused by the Govt. Epigraphists who took the name of Kaṇṭan Kārivarman alias Rāmakāṭa Mūvar in Ll. 5-7 as that of the sovereign. This error is copied by Prof. K.A.N. Sastri and Elamkuḷam also. The year, mentioned as 'the year opposite to the year 58' was taken to be the year 59 by the Govt. Epigraphist. However, this means only 58 stated in conventional style. See Perunna inscription 14th year, (A series) for discussion of date.
- Contents: While Kaṇṭan Kārivarman alias Rāmakāṭa Mūvar was governing the nāṭu, the Taḷi of Cālappuṟam, Vaḷaṇciyar, Nānātēyar, Paṇimakkaḷ, together make an agreement probably in connection with some gift from Rājēndra Cōḷa Samayasēnāpati of Kaṭappāpalli.
- Publication: No. 523 of 1930. It has not been officially published. It was mentioned as a record of the 59th year of Kaṇṭan Kārivarman alias Irāma Kuṭa Mūvar, king of Mūṣaka. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 79-92. Eye copy Mal. Transliteration and translation and notes.
- Remarks: This inscription confirms the extension of Bhāskara Ravi's authority to Kōlattunāṭu and establishes a Bhāskara Ravi-Kaṇṭan Kāri-Rājēndra Cōḷa synchronism. This triple synchronism is useful in confirming the finding about the period of Bhāskara Ravi, the Cēra-Cōḷa relations of this period, and also in getting a firm date for *Mūṣakavamsākāvyā*, the earliest known work of territorial history in Sanskrit literature. Kaṇṭan Kāri of this record may be identified with Śrīkanthan Kartha of the Kāvya. References to Vaḷaṇciyar and Nānātēyar also provide a link between Kerala and the Cōḷa empire.
- No: A. 41
- Place: Trikkākara. Base of the front maṇḍapa.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines, each one spread out on several stones. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 58 (A Series). Jupiter in Ciṅgam. 1020 AD. See Perunna inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 14th year (A Series), for discussion of date.
- Contents: Temple Inscription. Uḷpāṭan, Perumutiyan and Potuvāl o Tirukkalkkarai Tēvar decide that Cālaveli Kēraḷan Pōḷan, tenant of the temple, may be entrusted with some more land for Nandāvilakku and that another person Iravi Kōvinnan may be entrusted with certain other items of routine. Witnesses are mentioned.
- Publication: T.A.S., II, no. 7 (M), pp. 48-9. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation, and notes.
- Remarks: The 58th year is shown as Karkkātavyāḷam in Pullūr inscription and Ciṅgavyāḷam here. This is quite natural since the same regnal year might consist of the months of two calendar years. This is the latest known record of Bhāskara Ravi (A Series).

No. A. 42

Place: Trikkadithānam. North and West walls of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 7 lines, each on spreading over all the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 13 (6 + 7). (B. Series). 991 AD. Jupiter in Iṭavam, Month of Tulām. See Tirunelli copper plate of Bhāskara Ravi, 43rd year (B Series) for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Ūr, Paraṭaiyār, and Potuvāl meet in Tirukkadithānam temple and unanimously make arrangements for the cultivation of land set apart for Tiruvamirtu, Nandāvilakku, Tiruvakkiram, Māpāratam etc. The service tenure of the Śānti is fixed. The terms of the tenants of the lands are laid down. Restrictions are imposed on the Ūrālar and Paraṭai. Fine is prescribed.

Publication: T.A.S., II, no. 7 (c), pp. 34-37. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This is one of the few records which mention the institution of Māpāratam, i.e. the appointment of a scholar to recite *Mahābhāratam* in the temple. It also speaks about the three year term of Śānti, the dates of payment of the rent and steps to prevent the abuse of the power of the Paraṭai.

No. A. 43

Place: Nedumpuram Tāji. Half wall in the entrance corridor through the Vātilmātam on the left side.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 18 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, Kō. Regnal year 18 (16 + 2). (B Series) 996 AD. Jupiter in Tulām. The regnal year was read as 13 (11 + 2) in the Government Epigraphist's version and consequently Prof. Elamkulam assumed that the position of Jupiter demanded the postulate of a Bhāskara Ravi different from the author of Series A and B. see Tirunelli copper plate of Bhāskara Ravi, 43rd year, (B series) for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Patineṭṭu Nāṭṭār and Adhikārikaḷ of Nityaviyārēśvaram meet in the temple and unanimously decide to accept as Kīlḷiṭu all the lands in the Cērikkal belonging to Tiripuvaga Mātēvi alias Ciritara Naṅgacci and to afford it protection as part of the temple. Fine is prescribed for offences against the arrangements by Patineṭṭu Nāṭṭār, Adhikārikaḷ and Akappotuvāls and their accomplices.

Publication: No. 348 of 1924 T.A.S., VIII, no. 33 (IV), p. 40. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: Read 'patināṛāmāṇṭaiṭketirāyiraṇṭāmāṇṭu' in place of 'patinōrāmāṇṭaiṭketirā iraṇṭāmāṇṭu' in L.1. 1-2. Read 'irunnu' for 'iruntu' in L.4 and 'uṭeya' for 'uṭaiya' add 'pāttanel' for '.....nel' in L.9. Read 'vilakkuvitum poruḷ kavaruvitum ceyum' in place of 'nilakkovilum.....vota, caiyum' in L. 12-13. Add 'tam atikāran' for '...atikāran' in L. 15. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone). This record brings out a rich dancing girl with a high-sounding double name - Ciritara Naṅgacci alias Tribhuvaga Mātēvi - suggestive of a royal personage. It is significant that the chief queen of Uttama Cōja (Death C. 985 AD) predecessor of Rājārāja Cōja I, had the same title.

- No. A. 44
- Place: Trikkākara. Outside base of Cūrūmaṇḍapa.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 12 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 21. (2 + 19). (B Series). 999 AD. Jupiter in Kumbham. Month of Makaram. The regnal year was correctly deciphered by the Travancore Govt. Epigraphists at first but in the second and fuller edition, it was wrongly put as 31 (2 + 29). See Elamkulam, *Prasnaigal*, II, pp. 147-8. See Tirunelli copper-plate of Bhāskara Ravi, 43rd year, (B series) for discussion of date.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Mākkannappaḷḷi Kaṇṭa Nārāyaṇan receives gold from Cīrūmaṇḍappuḷai Kōtai Nārāyaṇan and undertakes to supply regularly the ghee necessary for the Nandāvilakku instituted by the latter. Witnesses are cited and Mūlikkaḷa kaccam is quoted. If the gold is ever returned, provision is made for investing it on land again.
- Publication: T.A.S., II, no. 7 (G), pp. 41-2. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes (Fragmentary). T.A.S., III, no. 43. pp. 182-4. Photo, Tamil Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks: This record brings out the practice of donating gold and investing it on land with the help of temple authorities for specific offerings in temple. Cīrūmaṇḍappuḷai Kōtai Nārāyaṇan, the donor, appears in another Trikkākara record of Bhāskara Ravi, 31st year, (B Series 1010 AD) also. Neytamaṅgalattu Kēyavan Tēvan, the Śānti who appears as witness here, must be the same person who appears in another Trikkākara inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 58th year, (A series- 1020 A.D.) also.
- No. A. 45
- Place: Trikkākara. Base of the front maṇḍapa.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 4 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 31 (2 + 29), (B Series), 1009 AD. Jupiter in Dhanu, 20th of Vṛścika, (expired). See Tirunelli copper plate of Bhāskara Ravi, 43rd year, (B Series) for discussion of date.
- Contents: Temple committee Resolution. While Paṇṇitturutti Pōḷan Kumaran was governing Neṭumpuraṇnāṭu and Kāḷkkaraināṭu, Putillattu Nārāyaṇan Tēvan agreed to pay the ghee for lamps due from two other persons, putting forward his share property as guarantee. Witnesses and scribe are mentioned.
- Publication: T.A.S., II, 7, (H). pp. 42-44. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks: Read 'inney' in place of 'innel' in L.3. Read 'vāṇa nāl' in place of 'vāṇanare' and 'Uḷpāṭan' in place of 'urepāṭan' in L.4. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone.) Paṇṇitturutti Pōḷan Kumaran, Governor of Neṭumpuraṇnāṭu and Kāḷkkaraināṭu mentioned here, must be the son of Paṇṇitturutti Kaṇṇan Pōḷan mentioned in a record of Indu Kōta, 16th year, from the same place. Perumaṇaikkōṭṭattu Caṅgaran Tāmōṭiran, a witness in this record, must be the son of Perumaṇaikkōṭṭattu Kēcavan Caṅgaran, who appears in the same capacity in records of the same place belonging to Indu Kōta, 17th year, and Bhāskara Ravi, 6th year, (A Series) - a fact which confirms the Indu Kōta-Bhāskara Ravi sequence. Cīrūmaṇḍappuḷai Kōtai Nārāyaṇan who figures as a witness in this record appeared

as donor in a Trikkākara inscription of the 21st year (B series) also. Ciṟumaṟṟappulai Kōtai Kēraḷan, another witness of this record, has appeared before in a Bhāskara Ravi inscription of the 6th year, (A Series - A.D. 968) also. Since there is a gap of 42 years between the two records it is likely that the second record refers not to the same person but a younger brother or a grand-son with the same name.

- No. A. 46
- Place: Tirunelli. Owners not to be traced.
- Material: Copper. Single plate with writing on both sides. 29 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 43 (2 + 35 + 6), (B. Series), March 1st, 1021 AD. Jupiter in Tulām, Month of Miṇa, Wednesday, Uṭṭraṁ nakṣatra. It has already been pointed out that correspondence of witnesses of A and B series of Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions from Trikkākara prove that all these records belong to the same period and the script and language agree with this inference. The astronomical data like position of Jupiter, month, date, weekday and nakṣatra given here enabled Swāmikkannu Pillai to calculate the date. It will be seen that 1st of March, 1021 is the only date that suits all these details in the period of 10th-11th centuries. See T.A.S., II, pp. 49-50; and Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, II, p. 47 also. Thus the year 978 AD must be taken as the initial year. The present writer infers that Bhāskara Ravi came to occupy the throne as a child in 962 AD and that the year 978 AD witnessed his formal coronation, so that his regnal year were counted in both ways by the people.
- Contents: Temple Inscription. Kuñcikkuttavarman alias Vīrakkurumpuṟaiyār, Mūttakūṟṟil Eḷunūṟṟuvar (Niḷal). Paṇiyuṭaiya Nāyan (Paṇi). Ūr (Nāṭṭār) and Ūṟitavakai Veḷḷālar (Prākṛiti) meeting unanimously in the temple, set aside a cērikkal for Tiruvamirtu and Nandāviḷakku. The mode of distribution of the rice after worship is detailed. Fine for offences prescribed. Witnesses and scribe are mentioned. Gifts of ornaments to the temple by the governor also enumerated.
- Publication: *E.I.*, XVI, no. 27, pp. 339-45. Photo, Eng. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Parameswaran Pillai, *Prācinalikhiṭaṅgaḷ*, pp. 170-75. Mal. Transliteration and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, 1963, App. 1, pp. 307-8 Mal. Transliteration of revised text.
- Remarks: The fullness of astronomical details presented here enabled the calculation of date. This record gives the latest date in Bhāskara Ravi's reign. The text gives the meaning of Eḷunūṟṟuvar as Niḷal and shows that they are attached to the senior prince thereby proving the mistake in interpreting terms like Eḷunūṟṟuvar, Aṟunūṟṟuvar etc as connoting democratic assemblies.
- No. A. 47
- Place: Trikkāḍiṭhānam, South base of the central shrine.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 6 lines running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 26 (2 + 24), (C Series) 988 AD? 1004 AD? This inscription is placed in C Series in the absence of any mention of the position of Jupiter. However, Gōvarittana Mārttāṇḍa, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, appointed simultaneously as Governor of Nanṇuḷaiṇāṭu, in the 14th year, (A Series) is men-

tioned here also. Therefore, there is a greater likelihood of this record belonging to the A Series though it is not certain. See Perunna record of Bhāskara Ravi, 14th year, (A Series) and Tirunelli record, 43rd year, (B series) for date.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. While Gōvarttana Mārttāṇḍa, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, was ruling over Nanṛulaināṭu, the Paraṭai of Tirukkaṭittānam, Kaṇattār, Potu-vālmār, Munnūṛruvar of Nanṛulaināṭu, Paṇi Ceykinṛa Neṭumpurāṭṭu Kunṛan Kōvintan and Ūrmanṛattu Iravi Irāman made arrangements to protect the property of Tirukkōyiluṭayār Koṭṭikaḷ (Temple drummers) from encroachment or mortgage. Fine is prescribed. The writing was caused by the Uvaccakaḷ (drummers).

Publication: T.A.S., II, no. 7 (E), p. 40. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes (Fragment only); T.A.S., V, no. 57, pp. 178-80. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This is a unique record in the form of a protective order, probably issued on the basis of some complaints made by the drummers to the temple committee.

No: A. 48

Place: Trikkāṭṭhānam. Courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Slab of granite with writing on one side. 6 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi. Regnal year 26 (2 + 24) (C series) 988 AD? 1004 AD? The text contains only the regnal year but not the name of the king. However, the content is related to the previous record (A. 47.) The same group of Tirukkōyiluṭaiyār appears in both. While the former preserves a judgment in favour of these people, the present record registers a contract with them for the supply of ghee. Therefore, we may confidently attribute this to Bhāskara Ravi though the series cannot be determined in the absence of Jupiter position. See 14th year, A Series and 43rd year, B Series for date.

Contents: Temple inscription. It is ordered that the two branches of drummers of Nārāyaṇa-maṅgalam are to supply oil at specified time. Fine is prescribed.

Publication: T.A.S., II, no. 7, (F) pp. 40-1. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'iraṇṭu tuṭaiṇu eṇṇai' in place of 'iraṇṭu paṭai a eṇṇai' in Ll. 2-3. Read 'aṭṭiya' in place of 'muṭṭiya' in L.6. (Correction by the present writer from original stone.)

No. A. 49

Place: Perunna. South base of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 5 lines each running across the stone. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 33 (2 + 31). C Series. 995 AD? 1011 AD? This record mentions a year when Jupiter stood in Itavam and it appears to be a reference to an earlier transaction being ratified and committed to writing on stone in the 33rd year. However the Government Epigraphists and Eḷamkuḷam took this to be a reference to the position of Jupiter in the year of the inscription. The latter, therefore, attributed the record to a new Bhāskara Ravi whom he described as Bhāskara Ravi III. In fact, the statement will not bear such interpretation. The position of Jupiter in the year of the record is not stated. See Perunna

record of Bhaskara Ravi, 14th year, and Tirunelli record, 43rd year, for discussion of date.

Contents: Royal Order. Perunneytal Ūr, Parataiyār, and Potuvāl agreed in the year when Jupiter stood in Itavam to pay a fixed amount as annual dues to Nanruḷainātu. It is now stated that they will pay the same amount to the Kōyil Adhikārikal of the ministry and nothing more. Two persons bringing the royal order sanctioning this procedure caused it to be inscribed on stone.

Publication: T.A.S., II, 7 (I), pp. 44-5. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. *Elamkuḷam, Praśnaṅgal*, II, pp. 149-50. Discussion of date.

Remarks: This record throws light on the nature of the relation between king and temple corporation.

No. A. 50

Place: Tiruvangūr. Balikkal in front of the shrine.

Material: Stone. Two stones with writing on one side. 2 lines each running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi, (Varma), Kō. Regnal year 35. (C Series) 997 AD? or 1013 AD? The regnal year portion is deciphered as 'muppattain...' in the government Epigraphist's version but it is clearly 'muppattaiṇcu' or thirty five. The position of Jupiter is not mentioned.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Maḷaḷur Nārāyaṇan Kēcavan built a balikkal and instituted regular expenses of Nāḷi rice.

Publication: No. 16 of 1901. S.I.I., VII, no. 176, p. 75. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: This short two sentence record is the first so far discovered which leaves out the personal termination in Mal. Language. Read 'muppattaiṇcu' in place of 'muppattain...' in L.I. (correction by the present writer from original stone.)

No. A. 51

Place: Pantalāyaṇi Kollam. Block of granite built into the steps of the tank at Jamāttu paḷḷi, and another lying outside.

Material: Stone. Two slabs with writing on surface in both and one side of the loose stone. 41 lines (19 + 17 + 5). Highly damaged and incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Bhāskara Ravi. Regnal year? (2 + ?) C Series. This record is to be placed in Series C as the regnal year and the position of Jupiter remain unknown. The name of the King was not deciphered in the Government Epigraphists' version.

Contents: Royal charter. Purpose uncertain. Only a few words like Pantalāyaṇi, Kōyil, Vaḷeṇci (yar), Maṇikkirāmam, Kōyil Adhikārikal, Aṭṭikkuṭṭarulliyitu, Nakarattilulḷōr etc can be deciphered.

Publication: No.3 and 4 of 1091; S.I.I., VII, no. 162, p. 69. Tamil transliteration. **Remarks:** Read '...kkaraniravikkuccellāniṇṇa' in place of '...ravikkuccellāniṇṇa' in Ll. 1-2. Read 'Pantalāyaṇi' in place of 'Panta...'. In Ll. 110-11. Read 'nakarattilulḷōr' in Ll. 34-5. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone). This record proves that the place name Pantalāyaṇi was in existence even in the 10th century. It is one of the few records to mention 'Vaḷaṇciyar' in Kerala. It was probably a royal charter given by the Kōyil Adhikārikal to the founders of the Vaḷaṇciyar community in

Pantalāyaṇi Kollam. Its position inside a Muslim mosque, considered to be one of the original mosques in Kerala, suggests that the nakaram belonged to the Muslims or included them or came into their possession at a later stage.

- No. A. 52
- Place: Tirumaṇṇakōḍe, near Pattambi. Door frame of the temple.
- Material: Stone. Single block of granite with writing on one side. 29 lines. Partly damaged in the bottom portion. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Ravi Kōta, Kō, Year 8, 1028 AD? Cōḷan Parakēsari Varman (Rājēndra Cōḷa) is mentioned in the text. Therefore, it belonged to the early part of the 11th century. This Ravi Kōta, who is mentioned in a Panniyankara inscription also, was probably the immediate successor of Bhāskara Ravi. Perhaps he possessed the coronation name of Rājasiṃha.
- Contents: Records the gift of gold equivalent to 40 Paḷamkāṣu to the temple by Cōḷa Muttaraiyan named Cēkkiḷān alias Śaktiṇṇayan of Kāvanūr, from Melur Kōṭṭam in Toṇḍaināṭu, who was carrying out the orders of Cōḷan Parakēsari Varman. Mentions the name of the temple as Tiruviṇṇuvakkōṭu. Refers to Mūḷikkaḷa Kacam also.
- Publication: Nil. A wooden frame had concealed the major part of the writing when the present writer visited the temple in November, 1961. The temple authorities kindly removed it in 1971 to enable a view of the text of the inscription. The first one line, covered by a granite beam, was recently exposed by scrapping the stone and this revealed the name of the sovereign.
- Remarks: The record is important in several ways. It confirms the connection between Kerala and Rājēndra Cōḷa mentioned in Cōḷa inscriptions. By bringing out the old name of the temple as Tiruviṇṇuvakkōḍe it strengthens the view that this is the temple praised by Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār of Kerala. The name of the king in the opening passage settles the question of the name of the Cēra king who succeeded Bhāskara Ravi in Kerala. See Index no. C. 15 also.
- No. A. 53
- Place: Panniyankara. Courtyard of the temple. This was lying buried under the ruins of the Vātilmāṭam and was brought to light recently.
- Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 18 lines. Incomplete. Partly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Ravi Kōta. Regnal year Nil. (damaged) C. 1028 AD. The script and language suggest the early part of the 11th century. This king is evidently the same as Ravi Kōta of Tirumaṇṇakōḍe inscription. For details and discussion of date, see no. A.52 above.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Atikārar of Panṇiyankarai and Āḷa Kōyil unani-mously deciding on the lease of certain lands. Perumāṇaṭikaḷ and a capatai (agree-ment), probably of Mūḷikkaḷam are mentioned.
- Publication: This record was discovered, deciphered and published by the present writer. On the basis of his report the Archaeological department of Kerala has copied it recently. See M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 122-136.
- Remarks: This record introduced a Cēra king who was not known from other sources and his date has been subsequently fixed in the light of a Tirumaṇṇakōḍe inscription.

(No. A. 52) This Ravi Kōta must have had the title of Rājasimha. For information about Rājasimha inscription, see No. A. 54 to 58 also.

- No. A. 54
- Place: Tālakkāḍ. Compound of the Christian church.
- Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on both sides. 39 lines (25+14). Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Rājasimha Perumān Aṭikaḷ. Regnal year 3. 1024 AD? (The Madras Government Epigraphist took the two parts of the record as two separate inscriptions but actually there is no difference in content, script, or language. The present writer examined the original stone). See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājendra Cōḷa, 24th year, Index no. A. 56, for discussion of date.
- Contents: Village Assembly resolution. Mūttār, Ilaiyār, and Paratai of Tālaikkāṭṭūr, the two Kuḍippottuvāḷs, Ūrvāriyar and Potuvāḷ of Irunkāṭikkūḷ meet in the presence of the king and decide to exempt two families of Maṇikkirāmattār from certain taxes and to extend the privileges of such exemption to new-comers within the Kaccam also. Mentions Perumāṇaṭikaḷ. The boundaries of the land granted unanimously by the Ūrār for shops to be erected by the Vaṇṅkar (Merchants) who were settled in Tālakkāṭu are mentioned. The rights and privileges of the four merchants in regard to taxes and dues are also specified here.
- Publication: No. 358 and 359 of 127. Partly published. T.A.S., VIII, no. 33, III, pp. 39-40. Tamil transliteration.
- Remarks: The growth of a small bazaar founded by the village assembly is portrayed here. Maṇikkirāmattār and their trade and some taxes like Pandalkkāṇam, Taṭṭarakkūli, Ōṇanel and Paṭaiyaṇinel are mentioned. The last two incidentally bring out the popularity of Ōṇam festival and the entertainment called Paṭayaṇi. Read 'Paṭaiyaṇi' in place of 'Panniṭai' in L.22 (Second side) found in the summary given by the Govt. Epigraphist. (correction by the present writer from the original stone.) The location of the stone in the Christian church probably suggests that it was an early Christian settlement and that the Maṇikkirāmam was a Christian Corporation.
- No. A. 55
- Place: Mannarkōyil, Ambāsamudram, Tamilnadu. South wall of the central shrine of Gōpālaswāmi temple.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite. Script-Tamil Language - Tamil.
- Date: King Jaṭavarman Sundra Cōḷa Pāṇḍya Dēva (Cōḷa Viceroy at Madurai). Regnal year 14. 1034 AD. Cēramāṅār Rājasimha mentioned. See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājendra Cōḷa, 24th year (No.56), for discussion of date.
- Contents: Temple inscription. Cēraḷan Mātēviyar Āticci, queen of Cēramāṅār Rāciṅga tēvar, donate a lamp and 16 coins to Rājendra Cōḷa Viṇṇagar Ālvār at Muṭiṅkoṇṭa... in Rājarājappāṇḍināḍu.
- Publication: No. 392 of 1916. Unpublished.
- Remarks: This record mentions the Cēra queen Āticci, probably a Cōḷa princess.

- No. A. 56
- Place: Mannarkōyil, Ambāsamudram, Tamilnadu. South wall of the central shrine of Gōpālaswāmi temple.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Script-Tamil. Language-Tamil.
- Date: King Parakēśari Varman alias Uṭaiyār Rājendra Cōladēva (Cōla Rājendra I) and Jaṭavarman Sundara Cōla Pāṇḍya Dēva (Cōla viceroy at Madurai). Regnal year 24 of the Cōla king and Regnal year 15 of the Cōla Viceroy. For discussion of the Cōla dates, see K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōlas*, p. 203. Since the reign of Bhāskara Ravi must have ended in or about the 59th year, (1021 AD) which yields the latest of his records, Cēramāṇār Rājasimha mentioned in this record may be assumed to have come to the throne in that year or about that time.
- Contents: Temple inscription. Land gift by Rājendra Cōla to temple built by Cēramāṇār Rājasimha. Mentions that the Cēra king built the temple called Rājendra Cōla Viṇṇagar, evidently in honour of Rājendra Cōla.
- Publication: No. 112 of 1905. Unpublished.
- Remarks: This record proves that Cēramāṇār Rājasimha who built a temple in Cōla-Pāṇḍya territory in honour of the ruling Cōla monarch was feudatory of that sovereign.
- No. A. 57
- Place: Mannarkōyil, Ambāsamudram, Tamilnadu. South wall of the central shrine of Gōpālaswāmi temple.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Script-Tamil. Built in at the end. Language-Tamil.
- Date: King Jaṭavarman Sundara Cōla Pāṇḍya Dēva (Cōla Viceroy at Madurai), Regnal year lost. C. 1036 AD. See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājendra Cōla, 24th year, Index no. A. 56 for discussion of date.
- Contents: Temple inscription. Land gift to the temple. Mentions Cēramāṇār Rājasimha.
- Publication: No. 114 of 1905. Unpublished.
- Remarks: This inscription confirms the feudatory status of the Cēra in relation to the Cōla sovereign.
- No. A. 58
- Place: Tiruvañcikkulam. Base of the sub-shrine outside the first Prākāra at the Western entrance of the temple.
- Material: Stone. Block of granite with writing on one side. Slightly damaged. 5 lines, each of them running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Rājasimha. Regnal year Nil. C. 1036 AD. The king's name and regnal year are not directly mentioned in this record but the Peruntaccan (chief architect) is mentioned as 'Irāyīṅapperuntaccan', i.e., the chief architect of Rājasimha. It was the custom for the royal architects, goldsmiths, carpenters, merchants, etc. to be known by the king's name. See Mannarkōyil inscription on of Rājendra Cōla, 24th year, Index No. A. 56, for discussion of date.

- Contents:** Royal Order. Amaiccuḷḷurutti Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ orders that he is pleased to grant a puraiyiṭam to the chief architect of Rājasimha. The Revenue payment is fixed and fine is prescribed for violation of rules.
- Publication:** No. 225 of 1895. *S.J.I.*, V, No. 789, p. 340. Tamil transliteration. *T.A.S.*, VI, II, no. 138, p. 191. Tamil transliteration. The Cochin Government Epigraphists had discovered only 3 lines but the Madras Government Epigraphists added two more. However they found only meaningless fragments of words here. The present writer has made corrections and filled up the gaps from the original stone.
- Remarks:** Read 'amaiccuḷḷuruttiyōyilatikārikaḷku. Itaiyiṭu oḷḷoruttan ākil itaiyiṭum vitakkaṭavanāvatu. Ippurayiṭam akanāliyaiyoṭu okku' in *Ē.I.* 3-5 after 'pon'. This record brings out the manner of remuneration for the architects for the repair and reconstruction of temple.
- No.** A. 59
- Place:** Mannarkōyil, Ambāsamudram, Tamilnadu. South wall of central shrine of Gōpālaswāmi temple.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Script-Tamil. Language - Tamil.
- Date:** King Jaṭavarman Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍyadēva (Cōḷa Viceroy at Madurai), Regnal year 16, 1037 AD. See K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōlas*, p. 203 for discussion of the Cōḷa date. As Cēramāṇār Rājasimha is mentioned in 1036 AD and Cēramāṇār Rājarāja in this record of 1037 AD it may be assumed that the reign of the former ended and that of the latter started in that year.
- Contents:** Temple Inscription. Gift of land to the temple. Mentions the donor Cēramāṇār Rājarājadēva. He finds the kāni-kaḍan due from a Brahmin settlement to the temple called Rājēndra Cōḷa Viṇṇagar too high, gives them more land and reduces the amount of revenue.
- Publication:** No. III of 1095. *Ē.I.*, XI, p. 292 ff. Sastri, *The Cōlas*, p. 581. English summary and notes.
- Remarks:** This record gives the clue of the date of Cēra king Rājarāja by referring to a definite point in his reign in terms of the regnal year of Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya. It also confirms the status of the Cēra king as the feudatory of the Cōḷa.
- No.** A. 60
- Place:** Mannarkōyil, Ambāsamudram, Tamilnadu. South wall of the central shrine in Gōpālaswāmi temple.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Incomplete. Script-Tamil. Language - Tamil.
- Date:** King Māravarman alias (name lost) Cōḷa Pāṇḍya Dēva (Cōḷa Viceroy at Madurai, probably successor of Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya Dēva) and Cēramāṇār Rājarājadēva. Regnal year (lost) c.1040 AD? This Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Viceroy must have started in C. 1040 AD. See Sastri, *The Cōlas*, p. 203.
- Contents:** Not clear. Built in at the end. Mentions Cēramāṇār Rājarājadēva.
- Publication:** No. 113 of 1095, *Ē.I.*, XI, p. 292 ff.
- Remarks:** This record also gives a hint about the period of Cēra king Rājarāja by referring to a year in terms of the regnal year of Māravarman Cōḷa Pāṇḍya who seems to

have succeeded the first Cōla Pāṇḍya Viceroy Jaṭavarman Sundara Cōla Pāṇḍya sometime after 1037 AD and about 1040 AD.

No. A. 61

Place: Trichambaram. Base of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Two blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines. Damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Rājārāja, Kō. Regnal year 4 + ? 1040 AD.? See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājendra Cōla, Index no. A. 57, 24th year, for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple inscription. The portions after the name and regnal year of the king are almost illegible. Seems to refer to the construction of the shrine.

Publication: Nil. This was discovered by the present writer in 1970.

Remarks: This record shows that Kōlattunāṭu where the temple is located was part of the territory of the Cēra sovereign.

No. A. 62

Place: Tiruvannūr, Kōzhikōḍe. Courtyard of the temple. This was transferred to the Collector's bungalow and recently, following a request from the present writer, shifted to the Archaeological Museum, Trichur.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 14 lines. Script- Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Rājārāja, Kō. Regnal year 8 (4 + 4). C. 1044 AD? The name of this king is deciphered as 'Vāla irāmar' (Vāḷa Rāma) by the Govt. Epigraphists and interpreted as Bāla Rāma by Prof. Elamkulam. The present writer deciphers it as 'Irai Irāyar' and considers it as the Malayalamised form of Rājārāja. See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājendra Cōla, 24th year, Index no. A.57 for discussion of date.

Contents: Royal Order. Pāliyattu Kaṇṇan Kaṇṭan, Governor of Rāmavaṇanāṭu, Paṇi Uṭaiyavakal, Arunūṟruvar and Niḷalōr make an agreement cancelling a new gold levy introduced by Kanaiyapallī Yakkan Cellan, prohibiting all future levies by the governor and his men, and placing the Dēvaswam and Brahmaswam as Kīḷiṭu of Arunūṟruvar. The Arunūṟruvar is enjoined to light a lamp, supervise the worship and protect the property of the deity like those of Tirukkuṇavāy. The Ulpātan has to manage the property and the Arunūṟruvar has to set right anything reported by the Potuvāl. The defaulters were to be considered as offenders against Tirukkuṇa-vāy. Fine is prescribed for offence.

Publication: No. 220 of 1895. S.I.I., V, No. 784, p. 388. Photo and Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: Read 'Irai irāyar' in place of 'Vāḷa irāmar' in L.1. Read 'cenṟatu' in place of 'cenu' in L. Read 'celavinuḷ pukku vilakkuvitu poruḷ' in place of 'celavinu akkōyil kanmipporuḷ' in L. 13-14. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone). This inscription, besides introducing the name of Rājārāja, introduces the name of a province called Rāmavaṇanāṭu and the rules of Tirukkuṇavāy, probably the famous Jain centre near Koṇḍaṅgallūr, the Cēra capital where ṭṭankō Aṭṭikal, the author of Cīlappatikāram, resided.

No. A. 63

Place: Indianūr, near Kōṭṭakkal. Buried in front of balikkal in temple. Recently transferred to the Department of History, Calicut University.

- Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on both sides, the other side bearing an inscription of Kōta Ravi, 27th year, also. 10 lines. Highly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Rājārāja, Kō. Regnal year 8 (4 + 4). C. 1044 AD? The name of this king is deciphered as 'Vāḷa irāmar' by the Government Epigraphists. The present writer deciphers it as 'Irai Irāyar' and considers it as the Malayalamised form of Rājārāja. See Mannarkōyil inscription of Rājendra Cōḷa, 24th year, Index No. A. 57 for discussion of date.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Ūrār of Intiyanūrpotuvāl, Kunṇil Kōyil, and Aṟunūṟṟuvar meet and take a decision in relation about the tenancy of a piece of land, the management of which is entrusted to the Potuvāl.
- Publication:** No. 286 of 1937. Unpublished. The present writer copied it from original stone.
- Remarks:** This is a rare case where inscription of two separate kings are found on either side of a slab of stone. The Aṟunūṟṟuvar, evidently of Ēṟāḷanāṭu, are mentioned for the first time.
- No.** A. 64
- Place:** Trikkāḍithānam. Wall of the central shrine.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines, each of them running across the stones Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Ravi Rāma, Kō. Regnal year 2 (2 + 0). C. 1050 AD. Jupiter in Mīṇam, month of Karkkaṭaka. This king must be assigned to the middle of the 11th century in the light of the script and language of this inscription. Ravi Rāma could be the personal name of Rājāditya who is mentioned as Rāma alias Rājāditya in the preamble of Ravideva's Yamaka kāvya named Naḷōḍaya. The position of Jupiter in the 2nd year makes it certain that Ravi Rāma cannot be identified with Rāma Kulaśēkhara.
- Contents:** Village Assembly resolution. Ūrār, Paraṭaiyār, Capaiyār, and Maṇalmanṟattu Iyakkan Ciriṇṇāṇ, Governor of Nanṟulaināṭu, meet in the temple and unanimously agree to confiscate the house and property, and cancel all the rights and privileges, of Teṇṇēri Cēnnaṇ Tāyan who committed theft from the temple treasury. With this property Maṇalmanṟattu Iyakkan Śṛiṇṇāṇ instituted 'Paṇṇama Śabdam' in the temple. The procedure, fine for default, and the course of appeal are elaborated.
- Publication:** T.A.S., V, No. 55, pp. 172-76. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** This record provides the only case of punishment for theft in the whole corpus of Cēra inscriptions. The reference to the Governor of Nanṟulaināṭu as Nāṭuvāḷum Nāyar is significant as it indicates the emergence of Nāyar feudal militia as the ruling force.
- No.** A. 65
- Place:** Paramban Taḷi. Base of the central shrine.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 3 lines. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

- Date: King Ādityan Kōta (Varma), Kō alias Raṇāditya Cakravartika]. Regnal year 5. Jupiter in Makaram. Month of Itavam. C. 1089 AD. The King's name was deciphered as 'Āticca Irūḷi Irāmar' (Āditya Ṛṣi Rāma) by the Government Epigraphists and this version was accepted by Prof. Elamkulam also. The present writer deciphers it as 'Āticcan Kōtai Varma'. The script and language, as well as the title of Cakravartika] as found in the case of Rāma Kulasekhara, suggest a late 11th century date.
- Contents: Temple Inscription: The temple was inaugurated in the 5th year of Āticcan Kōta-varma alias Raṇāditya.
- Publication: K.S.P., Series II, pp. 341-5. Mal. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. T.A.S. VIII. No.33, p. 39. Tamil transliteration.
- Remarks: Read 'Kōvāticcan kōtaivarmar' in place of 'Kōvāticcan irūḷi irāmar' L.1. This inscription gives the name of a Cēra king who is known also from another inscription of the 7th year from Nallūr in Feroke discovered by the present writer.
- No. A. 66
- Place: Nallūr, Feroke. Courtyard of the temple.
- Material: Stone. Two slabs of granite with writing on both sides. 34 lines (9 + 9 + 9 + 7). Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Ādityan Kōta, Kō. Regnal year 7. Jupiter in Miṇam. C. 1089 AD. See Paraṃban Taḷi record of Ādityan Kōta, 5th year, Index no. A 65, for discussion of date.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Amaiccuḷḷurutti Kōyil Adhikārika], Paraṭaiyār, Potuvāl etc make some regulations for Pāratam, Cāntivirutti, Tiruvamirtu, Nandāvilakku etc in the temple and the Āṭṭaikkoḷ (annual dues) there.
- Publication: Unpublished. This record was discovered by the present writer in January 1970.
- Remarks: Though fragmentary, this record brings out the name of the Cēra king Ādityan Kōta, and the regnal year 7 of his reign. The position of Jupiter in Miṇam in the 7th year agrees with that in Makaram in the 5th year from the Paraṃban Taḷi record, cited above.
- No. A. 67
- Place: Tiruvālūr. Built into the entrance of the temple.
- Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 13 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Kulasekhara Perumāḷ. Regnal year 3 (2 + 1), Jupiter in Makaram. This king Kulasekhara must be the same as Rāma Kulasekhara of the Perunna record, 10th year, (Jupiter in Karkkatakā) and Kollam record, 13th year, (Jupiter in Kaṇṇi, 278 ME or 1102 AD) and the position of Jupiter, Script, and language support this inference. The date of coronation of Rāma Kulasekhara being AD 1089, the present record may be assigned to 1092 AD. Prof. Elamkulam has wrongly identified this Kulasekhara with Bhāskara Ravi who is not known to have possessed such a title. See *Prasāṅgaḷ*, II, p. 55.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Ūr and Potuvāl meet in the presence of Kaṭaiṅgōṭṭu Nārāyaṇan Iravi Kōyil at the Āralūr temple and unanimously appoint the priests and fix the remuneration and terms of service.

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Publication: T.A.S., IV, No. 39, pp. 145-6. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'iṭalyiṭu viṭakkaṭaviyan' in place of 'i-viṭakkaṭaviyan' in Ll. 12-13. Read 'irupattunāḷkkaḷaiñṇu' in place of 'irunnāḷkkaḷaiñṇu' in Ll. 13-14.

No. A. 68

Place: Perunna. West side of the central shrine in temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on three sides. 72 lines (29 + 29 + 14). Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Kulaśekhara. Regnal year 10 (2 + 8). Jupiter in Karkkaṭaka, Month of Vriścika. 1099 AD. (Coronation 1089 AD) See Kollam inscription of 13th year. 278 ME, (1102 AD) for date.

Contents: Royal Order. The king sitting in council with Nālu Taḷi and Tirukkunṛappoḷai at Neṭṭiya Taḷi ordered the cancellation of Āṭṭakkōḷ (annual dues) and Arantai (war tax) from Perunneyatal, and the institution of Namaskāram and Māpāratam with that amount and handed it over to the Ūr of Peruneyatal and Potuvāḷ. Royal orders to this effect were sent to the Kuṭippatis through messengers and these having assembled at the temple, caused a stone inscription marking the cancellation of Arantai to be erected there.

Publication: E.I., XVIII, p. 340 ff. Photo, Eng. Transliteration, translation and notes. T.A.S., V, No. 12, pp. 37-40. Photo, Tamil transliteration Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Parināmaṅgaḷ*, p. 94. Mal. Transliteration, translation and notes (Extracts).

Remarks: This record illustrates the full procedure by which a royal order is formulated, communicated and executed. It mentions the Perumāḷ's council of Nālu Taḷi and the new tax called Arantai.

No. A. 69

Place: Neḍumpuṛam Taḷi. Right side half-wall of the entrance corridor through the Vāṭilmāṭam of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 12 lines. Damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: King Rāma, Mā Kō. Regnal year 10 (2 + 8). Jupiter in Karkkaṭaka, Month of Miṇam. The period of Manaṅgāḷṭu Kumaran Iravi as governor of the province and Pullūr Kumaran Kumarāṭiccan as Commander of the forces. This king Rāma, who is described as Mā Kō or great king (emperor or Cakravartikaḷ) may be identified with Rāma Kulaśekhara Cakravartikaḷ. The position of Jupiter, script, language and style support this inference. See Kollam inscription of Rāma Kulaśekhara, 13th year, Index No. A. 71 for date.

Contents: Temple inscription. Pullūr Kumaran Kumarāṭiccan, the Paṭal Nāyan (Commander of the forces) supervises the temple, making some arrangements in the temple.

Publication: No. 345 of 1924. T.A.S., VIII, No. 33, VII, p. 42. Tamil transliteration. Eḷamkuḷam *Paścāttalattil*, pp. 83-4. Mal. Transliteration, translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'Paṭanāyaruḷpaṭavaccu' in place of 'Pa-ṭa-ulpa-i' in Ll. 4.5. This record indicates the growing power of the military commanders - Nayars - in the provinces and even in temple.

- No: A. 70
- Place: Nedumpuraṁ Tāḷi. Right side of half-wall of the entrance corridor through the Vāṭilmāṭam of the temple.
- Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 11 lines. Damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Rāma. Regnal year 11. Jupiter in Cīṅgam. The king's name and regnal year are not mentioned in the record, but they are implied by the reference to persons and decisions of the record of the tenth year, Index no. A. 69 which is followed by the present record after one year, i.e., 1090 AD.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. In the year when Jupiter stood in Cīṅgam when Talaippulattu Kaṇṭan Kumaran was governor of the province, Kāññirappaḷḷi Iravi Kaṇṇapīrān, Commander of the Neṭumpuraḷyūrnāṭu forces, sitting in council in the temple decided to cancel the decision taken by Pullūr Kumaran Kumarāṭiccan, Paṭanāyar of the Neṭumpuraḷyūrnāṭu, Tāḷi and Tāḷi Adhikārikaḷ of the Nityaviyārē-śwaram temple in the year when Jupiter stood in Karkkaṭaka and Mananṅāṭṭu Kumaram Iravi governed the province. The new officer gave orders to this effect to Tāḷi and Tāḷi Adhikārikaḷ of Nityaviyārēśwaram temple. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules.
- Publication: No. 346 of 1924. T.A.S., VIII, No. 33 V, p. 41. Tamil Transliteration. Elamkuḷam Paścāttalattil, pp. 82-3. Mal. Transliteration of the revised text, translation and notes.
- Remarks: This record also indicates, like the one of the previous year in the same place, the growing power and status of the military commanders - Nāyars - in the province and in temple.
- No: A. 71
- Place: Kollam (Quilon). Pillar set up in the courtyard of Rāmēśwaram temple.
- Material: Stone. Single block of granite with writing on four sides. 151 lines (28+39+42+42). Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Rāma Kulaśekhara, Cakravartikaḷ. Regnal year 13 (2 + 11), 278 of Kollam era (1102 AD), Jupiter in Kaṇṇi, Month of Cīṅgam, 9th day (expired).
- Contents: Royal order. The king, residing at the Paṇaiṅkāvu palace in Kurakkēni Kollam, sitting in council with Āriya Brahmins, Nālu Tāḷi, Āyiram, Arunūṟṟuvar, Mānavikṛama alias Pūnturaikkōn, who governed Ērānāṭu, and other Sāmantar (feudatories), made amends for some offence against the Āriyar (Brahmins) by donating paddy for daily feeding of Brahmins and leasing out a Cērikkal (crown colony) for that purpose to Kumaran Utaiyavarman of Vēṇaṭu. The king also makes provision for Kūttu and offering at Tīrukkunavāy Tirunaṭai. Witnesses are mentioned.
- Publication: T.A.S., V, No. 13, pp. 40-46. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Elamkuḷam Paṇiṇāmaṅgaḷ, pp. 94-5. Mal. Transliteration, translation and notes (extracts only).
- Remarks: Read 'putten paṇaiyāl' in place of 'putten aṇaiyāl' in Ll. 24-25. Read 'ērānāṭu vāḷḷkai māṇavikkīramanāṅa pūnturaikkōn' in place of 'annāṭu vāḷḷkaiyān vikīramanāṅa....kkan' in Ll. 47-52. Read 'patineṅkalattāl' in place of 'patinaṅkalattāl' in Ll. 88-9. Read 'munṇāḷḷikku' in place of 'annāḷḷikku' in Ll. 103-4

(Corrections by the present writer from original stone). This record is of unique importance as it mentions the date in Kollam era, the regnal year, the Paṇaṅkāvil palace at Kollam, the members of the council like Nālu Taji and Āyiram and the names of two feudatories, Mānavikṛama, governor of Ērāṇātu, the first among feudatories, and Kumaran Utaiya Varman, Governor of Vēṇātu, who is nominated as tenant of the Cērikkal. It also refers to Prāyaścittam by the Perumāḷ for having offended Brahmins, to Kūttu and to Tīrukkunāvāy, probably the famous Jain temple of that name.

- No.** A. 72
- Place:** Pantalāyaṇi Kollam. Courtyard of the Pantalāyaṇi Kollam Bhagavati temple. This seems to have disappeared from the scene.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 12 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
- Date:** King Kulaśēkhara. Regnal year Nil. C. 1089. This Kulaśēkhara may be identified with Rāma Kulaśēkhara (coronation 1089 AD). The script and language support this inference.
- Contents:** Royal Order. The Kōyil Adhikārikal orders that out of the Āṭṭaikkōḷ (annual dues) from Kōllattu Pantalāyaṇi, the Ūr (village assembly) was granted five nāḷi out of every six nāḷi and the mēlpāti of Tattamaṅgalam.
- Publication:** No. 6 of 1901. *S.I.L.*, VII, No. 165, p. 69. The present writer could not trace the original stone. It is reported to have been destroyed following a dispute about the ownership of the temple. Read 'ūrāl kollumāṭṭaikkōḷ' in place of 'ūrīl koḷḷāṭṭaikkōḷ' in Ll. 4-5. Read 'arunnāḷiykku aṇṇāḷi' in place of 'arunāḷi — aṇṇāḷi' in Ll. 5-6. Read 'ūrkkuvittā tattamaṅgalamēlpāti' in place of 'ūrkkunittā — tamaṅgala mēlpāti' in Ll. 7-9. (corrections by the present writer from estampage in the Government Epigraphists' office, Mysore). This short record confirms the extension of the authority of Rāma Kulaśēkhara to Pantalāyaṇi Kollam in the north also.

- No.** A. 73
- Place:** Tiruvalaṇḍuḷi, Tanjore district, Tamilnātu. South wall of maṇḍapa in front of central shrine in Kapardiśwara temple.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Script- Tamil. Damaged. Language - Tamil.
- Date:** King Vikrama Cōḷa. Regnal year 4. 1122 AD. (Coronation 1118 AD) See K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 342 for date of Vikrama Cōḷa. Mentions Cēramānār Rāma.
- Contents:** Temple Inscription. Mentions a number of gifts to the temple. Mentions a gift of 14 Kācu for a tumbai garland to the deity for the benefit of Cēramānār Rāma Varma.
- Publication:** No. 623 of 1902. *S.I.L.*, VIII, No. 221, pp. 114-15. Tamil transliteration.
- Remarks:** This record shows that Cēramānār Rāma, who must be the same as Rāma Kulaśēkhara Cakravartikal (coronation 1089 AD) of the Kollam inscription of the 13th year (1102 AD), lived and ruled at least up to his 33rd regnal year in 1122 AD, the 4th year of Vikrama Cōḷa. Perhaps this is the last known contemporary epigraphic reference to a Cēra sovereign. It is likely that the gift was made by some relative of his in the Cōḷa country after his death or disappearance.

- No. A. 74
 Place: Irinñālakkūḍa. Inside wall of the first Prākāra in temple.
 Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 19 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
 Date: King Bhāskara Ravi? Mentions 'Bhāskara Nampirānār' as donor. The title 'Kō' is absent here. Regnal year - Nil. Jupiter in Karkkatakā. C. 10th century.
 Contents: Royal charter. It is ordered that a plot called Paṭiññāyirru pōṭṭai given by Cōkirattu Potuvāl is re-named Bhāskarapura. The names of four Maṇikkirāmatṭār and their obligations to the temple as well as their rights and privileges are mentioned. Protection is entrusted to the six hundred of Vajjuvanāṭu.
 Publication: R.V.R.L.B., IX, 1, pp. 44. Mal. Transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
 Remarks: This is one of the few records which throw light on the foundation of a small township in Kerala. It also gives the names of the four Maṇikkirāmaṁ people who were tenants of the Nakara.
- No. A. 75
 Place: Talakkulattūr. Courtyard of the temple.
 Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 22 lines. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
 Date: King.... Tiruvaṭi, Kō. Regnal year Nil (Damaged). C. 883 AD. The portion containing king's name and regnal year is damaged. It reads 'Kō..... Tiruvaṭikkuccellāniṇṇa-yāṇṭu....'. The letters 'kko' are faintly visible after 'Kō' and therefore it may be identified with Kōṭa Ravi, but this is by no means established. The orthographic and linguistic features indicate the 9th-10th centuries.
 Contents: Temple Inscription. Some land is set apart for Nandāvilakku in temple by paying gold. Fine for default is prescribed. Terms like 'Kōyil Atikārikaḷ' and 'Kaḷaiñcu' are mentioned.
 Publication: No. 2 of 1901. S.I.I., VIII, No. 161. Tamil transliteration. This record helps to assign the dilapidated temple with fine architectural and sculptural features to the 10th century.
- No. A. 76
 Place: Chēḷannūr. Courtyard of the temple.
 Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one surface and narrow side. 28 lines (22+ 6) Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
 Date: King. Nil (Damaged). Regnal year 5? (Damaged). The paleographic and linguistic features indicate late 11th century.
 Contents: Temple Inscription. The object is not clear. Mentions Nandāvilakku and fine for violation of rules. Terms like 'Perumān Aṭikaḷ' 'kaḷaiñṇu' and 'perumakkaḷ' are found there. The scribe's name is stated as Kāri alias Peruntaccan. The narrow side of the stone has name 'Kuṭummanattu Kīraṁ Kāriyāyina Ūraḷan'.
 Publication: Unpublished. The present writer discovered and deciphered the inscription on information from Vijayan, teacher, near the temple.

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Remarks: The present writer deciphered part of the regnal year as 'yāṇṭaikketirayāṇṭu' meaning 5th year. This maybe the original endowment of the temple.

No. A. 77

Place: Tiruvangūr. Rock surface near the temple.

Material: Stone. Rock wall of a tank. 9 lines, the second half of all the lines damage. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language Old Malayalam.

Date: King Nil (Damaged), Kō. Regnal year after 5 (7 + 5). 11th century. The king's name has disappeared but the script and language suggest the end of the 10th century or beginning of the 11th century, the same period as that of another inscription of the balikkal in front of the shrine belonging to Bhāskara Ravi, 35th year, (C Series) given above.

Contents: Temple inscription. Tiruvakkiram instituted in the temple. Fine prescribed for violation of rules.

Publication: No. 15 of 1901. *S.I.I.*, VII, No. 175, p. 74.

Remarks: Since part of the rock has fallen off, the lost passages are irrecoverable.

No. A. 78

Place: Muduvallūr. Broken pillar of the ruined temple.

Material: Stone. Surface of a big pillar. 16 lines. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.

Date: King Nil (Damaged). Regnal year 7 (7 + 0), 10th century. The king's name is illegible, but the year is clearly stated.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paraṭaiyār, Iḷaiyār, Akappotuvāl, and Puṟappotuvāl of Mutovallūr, meet in the presence of Kaṭapparpalḷi Aiyam Paramēccuvaran, the Vaḷaṅciyar, and unanimously decide to dedicate certain lands for Perutirukkōyil Tēvar temple.

Publication: Unpublished. This record was discovered and deciphered by the present writer in 1970.

Remarks: Kaṭapparpalḷi, from where the Vaḷaṅciyar (merchant) donor comes, appears as the home town of Rājendra Cōḷa Samayasēnāpati in Eramam-Cālappuram inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 58th year, cited above. A certain merchant from Kaṭapparpalḷi in Malainātu figures as donor in Cōḷa inscription of Rājarāja, 19th year, from Tiruvaḍandai, Chingelpet dt, Tamilnadu also (No. 273 of 1910).

No. A. 79

Place: Tirunellāi, Courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 24 lines? Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: King Nil (Damaged). Regnal year 20. 11th century. The kin's name is illegible. Only the last part of the name 'Tiruvaṭi' can be deciphered. The script and language suggest an 11th century date.

Contents: Temple inscription. Land gift for temple expenses. The institution of Nālpaṭṭeṇṇāyiravar is mentioned.

- Publication: No. 241 of 1960-1. Unpublished. The present writer copied the fragmentary text from the original stone.
- Remarks: The institution of Nālppattēṇṇāyiravar appears to have been connected in some way with Jainism since it is mentioned in two Jain temple inscription, one from Tāḷakkāvu, Index No. B. 1 and the other from Alāthūr, Index No. C. 16.
- No. A. 80
- Place: Tiruvalla. Originally kept in the temple but transferred to Trivandrum and now in the custody of the Archaeological Department of Kerala.
- Material: Copper plate. Forty three plates with writing on both sides. Eight plates missing (Nos. 1, 4, 6, 7, 16, 32, 34, 41). It is likely that some plates at the end also have disappeared. 630 lines - 9 lines on one side. Script-Vatṭeluttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
- Date: King Vīra Cōḷa (Cōḷa Parāntaka 907 AD to 955 AD) and his queen Kijān Aṭika] mentioned. (Ll. 99 and 109) King Manukulāditya (Cēra king Bhāskara Ravi alias Manukulāditya. 962 AD to C. 1021 AD) mentioned as donor while he was crown prince (L. 285) and while he was the sovereign (L. 302). The contents evidently belong to different periods and were collected, rearranged and edited at a later date. The script and language suggest the middle of the 11th century. The absence of reference to 'accu' which became popular by the middle of the 12th century would preclude the idea of the plates belonging to a later date.
- Contents: Temple committee resolutions. The donations made at different times by different persons for different types of offerings in the temple like Tiruvilakku, Tiruvamirtu, Tiruvakkiram, Nīrāṭṭupalḷi, Akkāratalai, Snāpanam, Pañcamasābdam, Dvādaśi celebration, Āvaṇi Ōnam celebration, etc are registered along with the details of lands or gold contributed or leased out, and the conditions of tenure and service. Mūlikkuḷattu Kaccam and Śankaramaṅgalattu Kaccam are quoted. Fine and other punishments are prescribed for violation of rules. A large number of district governors, merchants and others are mentioned and different measures like eṇṇālippaṛa, onpatinālippaṛa and patinālippaṛa are indicated. The prices of several articles are listed.
- Publication: T.A.S., II, III, pp. 131-207. Photos, Tamil transliteration, and Eng. Abstract of contents, with Index of personal names, villages and plots, and tables of Vatṭeluttu letters and numerical symbols.
- Remarks: This unique collection of copper plates gives a chance to see at a glance the whole development of a representative Grāmakṣētra which was also a big Vaiṣṇavite centre, through the 9th 10th and 11th centuries. It is a mine of information regarding temple rituals, deities, festivals, castes, professions, personal names, plot names, prices etc in this period. It provides a contemporary record of the growth of temple-centered feudalism in Kerala.

Table B

Records Dated or Datable without Regnal years and Royal name

No.	B. 1
Place:	Tāḷakkāvu in Pūtāḍi, Wynād. Originally buried in the ground, near Jain Basati. Discovered by K.K.N. Kurup, student in the Department of History, Calicut University, in 1970, and recently taken over by the Archaeological Department of Kerala.
Material:	Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 31 x 2 1/2'. 13 lines. Script-Vatteḷuttu with mixture of Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
Date:	Year 137 of Tirukkūṇavāy Tēvar. C. 850. The script and language suggest the later part of the 9 th century.
Contents:	Kuṭampāṭi 24 poti and Nākerpoṭai 12 poti are set apart for Ney and Viḷakku by Nālpattēṇṇāyiravar in the 137 th year of Tirukkūṇavāy. Those who obstruct this would be considered as offenders against Tirukkūṇavāy.
Publication:	Unpublished. It was discovered by K.K.N. Kurup, student in Department of History, Calicut University, in 1970. The present writer has reconstructed it from an eye copy by Mr. M.R. Raghava Varier.
Remarks:	This record reveals that Tirukkūṇavāy was the model of Jain temples in Kerala and suggests that Tirukkūṇavāy was founded in the early part of the 8 th century.
No.	B. 2
Place:	Pāliyam, Cēnnamaṅgalam, Cochin.
Material:	Copper. Two plates with writing on both sides. 78 lines (10 + 16 + 22 + 30) Script-Tamil in the first side of the first plate and Nāgari in the rest of the plates. Language-Tamil and Sanskrit.
Date:	King Varaguṇa, Lord of Viḷiṇṇam. Regnal year 15. 28 th December 898 AD. Cēra king Vijayarāga is probably referred to in a Śloka through double entendre. Thursday, Mrigaśīrā (Makayiram) Nakṣatra, Lunar Month of Puṣya, Solar month of Makara, Śuklapakṣa, Dvādaśi. T.A. Gopinatha Rao suggested Thursday, 35 th December, 868 AD. This is wrong as Karunantaṭakkan, predecessor of Varaguṇa, is known to have lived up to 879 AD. Prof. Elamkulam suggested Thursday, 29 th December, 925 AD. This too is wrong since it would not suit the 15 th regnal year, for Karunantaṭakkan could not have ruled for 53 years, his last known regnal year being 28 only. The present writer accepts 28 th December, 898 which suits the astronomical data, regnal year and other historical evidence.

- Contents:** Thirteen Sanskrit Ślōkas. The First one praises the Buddha. The second praises Dharma and Sangha. The third Ślōka praises Avalōkitēśvara. The fourth, fifth and sixth Ślōkas praise the warlike fame, wealth, and nobility of the king's dynasty which is described as Vriṣṇikula in the seventh Ślōka. The second half of the eighth Ślōka (the first part is lost) describes the king as Lord of Viḷiññāma. The ninth Ślōka yields the regnal year and the astronomical data and refers to the Tamil portion for details of the plot donated. The tenth Ślōka mentions Vira Kōṭa, appointed by the king (evidently the Cēra king since Śrīmūlavāsa Vihāra was located in central Kerala) as protector of the property handed over to the Vihāra. The tenth and eleventh ślōkas contain a request to the king's descendants to uphold dharma and protect the land of donation. The thirteenth Ślōka contains a general appeal to all people to turn to acts of benevolence. The Tamil portion describes the boundaries of the land donated.
- Publication:** T.A.S., I, XII A, pp. 187-93. Photo, Tamil and Nāgari transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes. Eḷamkuḷam, *Praśnaṅgaḷ*, I, pp. 100-35; III, pp. 1-35. Mal. Translation and notes. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakal*, pp. 10-44. Mal. Transliteration and notes. See also 'Pāṇḍyan suzerainty over the Āy kingdom', *Proceedings of Seminar of Pāṇḍyan History*, Madurai University, 1971.
- Remarks:** This is the only epigraphic record registering a gift to Śrīmūlavāsa Buddhist vihāra in central Kerala near Ambalappūla and that too by the Āy King of South Kerala, who was vassal of the Pāṇḍyan king. The Vihāra is otherwise known from the *Mūṣakavamsa Kāvya*. Besides giving the date of coronation of Āy king Varaguṇa Vikramāditya and showing his Buddhist leanings, this record reveals his friendly relations with the Cēra and the Cēra patronage of the Buddhist Vihāra. Both Gopinatha Rao and Prof. Eḷamkuḷam have assumed that some plates are lost but as it is the record is complete.
- No.** B. 3
- Place:** Rāmantaḷi at the foot of Eḷimala. Courtyard of Narayankaṇṇūr temple.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on both sides. 38 lines (17+21). Script-Vatṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Kali year 4029 in words and the chronogram 'Panthāvākēsavōya' - Kali day 147471 according to Kaṭapayādi rule. This corresponds to 929 AD. The Government Epigraphist deciphered this as 'Panthāvākēsavōya' reading 'sa' in the place of 'sa' and calculating 3976 in place of 4029 - evidently a mistake. Mūṣaka prince Validhara Vikramarāma is mentioned as donor - a fact which the Govt. Epigraphist missed.
- Contents:** Nampiyār vikkirama Rāma donates land for Nandāvilakku and Nivēdyam to Narasiṅga Viṣṇakar Tēvar. The tenants are mentioned by name. Mūḷikkalattu cavatai is quoted. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Maṇikkirāmam is appointed as guardian.
- Publication:** No. 474 of 1926. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakal*, pp. 93-113. Vatṭeḷuttu text, Mal. Transliteration, Mal. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** The Government Epigraphist's decipherment of the chronogram as 'Panthāvākēsavōya' was evidently wrong as it disagreed with the statement of the Kali year in the first line. They have not published the text and they did not see the reference to the name of the Mūṣaka prince Validhara Vikramarāma. Besides, their notice contained a reference to 'Maṇattunai Muṇṭan Korṟātai' a name which does not occur in the inscription. This record brings out the name and period of a Mūṣaka

prince Validhara Vikramarāma who was otherwise known only from the *Mūṣakavaṁśa Kāvya*. Validhara, the name of Vikramarāma's predecessor, is also mentioned in the first part of the royal name. The reference to Mūlīkkaḷam in this Mūṣaka inscription shows the inclusion of this territory in the Cēra sphere of influence. The presence of Maṇikkirāmattār is mentioned. For the importance of this record, See M.G.S. Narayanan, 'History from the Mūṣakavaṁśa', *Proceedings of The All India Orientalists Conference*. Jadhnapur, 1969.

No. B. 4

Place: Parumala. Site of the ruined temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 6 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.

Date: Kali Day 1474082 in words. 934 AD.

Contents: Kulivilaikkunṇan Cāttan, a scribe under Paramēccuvaran Cuppiramaṇiyan alias Brahmādhiraṇ constructs a balipīṭham and endowment for Oḷukkavi with nāli rice.

Publication: V.R. Parameswaran Pillai, *Prācīnalikhitaṅgaḷ*, pp. 156-58. Mal. Transliteration, translation and notes.

Remarks: Temple Inscription. The present writer could not trace the site. No estampage of the record is available. It may be suspected that the name deciphered as 'Paramēccuvaran Pavviramatiyan' in Ll. 3-4 is actually Paramēccuvaran Cuppiramaṇiyan. Moreover, the epigraphist has interpreted 'Paramēccuvaran Pavviramatiyaṇāyina' in Ll. 3-4 is actually Paramēccuvaran Cuppiramaṇiyan. Moreover, the epigraphist has interpreted 'Paramēccuvaran Pavviramatiyaṇāyina Piramātirāyan' as meaning 'Paramēśwara the Pramāthi' and taken it as denoting the deity in the temple. The present writer takes it as denoting a person called Paramēśwaran Subrahmanyān alias Brahmādhiraṇ (Piramātirāyan) the employer of the donor.

No. B.5

Place: Kaviyūr. North and west bases of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 2 lines running across the stones. Script- Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Kali 4051 in words. 951 AD. This must fall in the 7th year of Indu Kōta's reign.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Maḷilaṅcēri Tēvan Cētan makes land gift for Tiruvilakku, Tiruvamirtu, Tiruvakkiram, Tiruccantanam and Tiruppukai. Mūlīkkaḷattu kac-cam is quoted.

Publication: T.A.S., I, No. XVII C, p. 289. Photo, Tamil transliteration (fragmentary) and notes. T.A.S., V, No.3, p.7. Tamil transliteration of revised text.

Remarks: This appears to be the original endowment for the temple.

No. B. 6

Place: Kaviyūr. South and east bases of the central shrine.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines running across all the stones. Script- Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Kali year 4052 in words. 952 AD. This must fall in the 8th year of Indu Kōta's reign.

- Contents:** Temple Inscription. Ūrār of Kaviyūr meet in the presence of the Kōyil and unanimously accept the land gift made by Maṅgalattu Nārāyaṇan Kēcavan and Nārāyaṇan Kiriṭṭan for Nandāvilakku, Tiruvamārtu, and Tiruvakkiram. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Mūljikaḷattoḷukkam is quoted. Tenants are nominated.
- Publication:** T.A.S., I, No. XVI B, p. 288. Photo, Tamil transliteration (fragmentary) and notes. T.A.S., V, No. 2, p. 6. Tamil transliteration of revised text.
- Remarks:** A prohibitory order to the effect that even the unanimous meeting of the Ūrār has no power to alter this decision is a unique feature of this inscription.
- No.** B. 7
- Place:** Trikkākara. East base of central shrine.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 10 lines, each running across the stones. Script-Vatṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Paṇṇitturutti Yakkan Kuṟappōlan, Governor of Kālkkaraināṭu. C. 950 AD. Iḷamturutti Kōtai Kēraḷan who figures in this record must be father of Iḷamturutti Kēraḷan Nārāyaṇan of Trikkākara inscription of Indu Kōṭa, 16th year. Index No. A. 25. Similarly Puḷḷippaḷḷi Caṅkaran Cirikaṇṭan of the present record must be both-er of Puḷḷippaḷḷi Caṅkaran Kumaran mentioned there. Therefore the date is about a generation earlier than the 16th year of Indu Kōṭa (960 AD), i.e. the beginning of the reign of Indu Kōṭa.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Registers an order prohibiting the practice of lending gold from the temple. Prescribes fine and suspension for violating the rule. Iḷamturutti Kōtai Kēraḷan, the author of the agreement, and Puḷḷippaḷḷi Caṅkaran Cirikaṇṭan, the scribe, are mentioned by name.
- Publication:** T.A.S., III, No: 39 pp.174-75. Tamil transliteration English text and notes.
- Remarks:** This is a rare instance of a prohibitory order on lending gold belonging to the temple. It probably indicates the Ūrār's anxiety that the wealth of the temple shall not be misused or lost in course of time.
- No.** B. 8
- Place:** Trikkākara. South and east bases of cuṟṟumaṇḍapa.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 3 lines running across the stones. Script-Vatṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Paṇṇitturutti Yakkan Kuṟappōlan, Governor of Kālkkaraināṭu. C. 950 AD. Jupiter in Ciṅgam. The Governor is the same as that of the previous Trikkākara inscription, Index No. B.7. Therefore the present record belongs to the same period as the previous one, i.e., the early years of Indu Kōṭa if not the last years of his predecessor. The position of Jupiter shows that it could be 936 AD or 948 AD or 960 AD.
- Contents:** Temple Inscription. A Certain individual institutes Viriccikaviḷakku and the Governor provides land for Tiruviḷakku in the temple.
- Publication:** T.A.S., III, No. 38, pp. 173-174. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** Nil.
- No.** B. 9
- Place:** Trikkākara. East base of the cuṟṟumaṇḍapa.

- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 5 lines, each running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Kaṇṇan Puṛayan, Governor of Kālkkaraināṭu, 958 AD. This governor figures in the 16th and 17th years of Indu Kōṭa. Index No. A. 25, 26. However, the position of Jupiter in Mithunam would indicate either the 14th year or the 26th year of Indu Kōṭa. The latest year of Indu Kōṭa so far known being the 17th, the present record may be safely attributed to the 14th, i.e. 958 AD.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. While Kaṇṇan Puṛayan was governing Kālkkaraināṭu, a resolution is passed prohibiting the practice of lending gold from the temple. Mūlīkkaḷa kaccam is quoted.
- Publication:** T.A.S. III, No. 41, pp. 177-179. Tamil transliteration, Engl. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** A decision to prohibit the practice of lending gold from the temples mentioned here.
- No.** B. 10
- Place:** Trikkākara. South and east bases of the cuṛṇmaṇḍapa.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of stone, with writing on one side. 5 lines, each running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Jupiter in Kaṇṇi - 961 AD. Kārilattu Kaṇṇan Kumaran who figures as the donor in the present record, figures in the same capacity in a record of Indu Kōṭa, 17th year, (960 AD) Index No. A.26. Therefore this record cannot be far removed from 960 AD in time. The position of Jupiter in Kaṇṇi suggests that the year 961 AD is a possible date.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Records the donation of 36 Kalaṇṇu of gold by Kārilattu Kaṇṇan Kumaran. This is invested on land which is then leased out for fixed revenue.
- Publication:** T.A.S., III, No. 40, pp. 176-77. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** Mentions the coins called 'paḷan kāṣu', the measures called 'tēvar tuṭavu' and 'tēvar paṛai' and the tax called 'kaṭamai'.
- No.** B. 11
- Place:** Māmpaḷli. Originally owned by Māmpaḷli Maḍham, near Trivandrum and now preserved at Padmanabhapuram Museum by the Department of Archaeology, Kerala.
- Material:** Copper. Single plate with writing on both sides. 26 lines (14 + 12) Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Kollam year 149 in words. November 9th, 973 AD. (See Kielhorn quoted in T.A.S., IV, pp. 4-5.) Jupiter in Tulām. Month of Vriccikam. Sunday. Aśwati nakṣatra. This must be placed in the 11th year of Bhāskara Ravi (A Series).
- Contents:** Royal Order. While Tiruccenkunṛ Paruṭai Perumakkal were assembled in the high mansion of the Paṇaiṅkāvil palace at Kollam, Śrīvallavan Kōtai, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, gave away the sole rights of the Paṭṭārakar installed by Tirukkaḷaiyapurattu Āticcan Umaiyammai at Ayirūr and the land assigned to the deity to that lady, and that lady in turn gave what she received to Tiruccenkunṛ as Kīḷitu with provision for the routine expenditure and the payment of protection fee to the Potuvāls. Fine is prescribed. Witnesses and scribe are mentioned.

Publication: *E.I.*, IX, p. 234 ff. Eng. Transliteration, translation and notes. *T.A.S.*, IV, No. I, pp. 1-11. Photo, Tamil transliteration of revised text. Eng. Translation and notes. *Elamkulam, Annatte Kēraḷam*, pp. 146-53. Mal. Transliteration of revised text, translation and notes. *Parameswaran Pillai, Prācīnalikhitāṅgaḷ*, pp. 181-88. Mal. transliteration of old text, translation and notes.

Remarks: This record is the earliest to mention the Kollam era. It registers a royal gift to a female and her gift to the temple witnessed by the governor, the village assembly etc. This double deed is a rare occurrence. This record mentions the *Papañkāvīl* palace at Kollam which is again mentioned in the Kollam record of *Rāma Kuḷāśekhara*, 13th year, 1102 AD.

No. B. 12

Place: Māmpaḷḷi. Owned by Māmapḷḷi Maḍham.

Material: Copper. Single plate with writing on both sides. Fragmentary. Some plates containing portions at the beginning and end are not traced. 26 lines (13 + 13) Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. King Nil. C. 973 AD. The record deals with the regulation of *Rakṣābhōgam* to be given to *Tiruccenkunrūr* by *Ayirūr* and *Čiṭṭūr* and the *Brahmasvam* of the two last mentioned temples. As the foundation of these temples and their subjugation to *Tiruccenkunrūr* forms the subject of Māmpaḷḷi plates of *Śrīvallavan Kōta*, 149 ME (973 AD) given as No. B. 11 above, the present record, showing the same characteristics in script and language, may be considered to be a companion of that and ascribed approximately to the same date.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Plots of land are set apart for expenses of *Amāvāsi* and *Nāḷeṇṇam*, and the payment of *Rakṣābhōga* on behalf of *Ayirūr* and *Čiṭṭūr* to *Tiruccenkunrūr*, and also for *Brahmasvam*.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, IV, I, No. 2, pp. 11-16. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: Though this forms a fragment of a separate document it is a sort of companion or sequel to the royal grant (No. B. 11 above) by which the *Ayirūr* and *Čiṭṭūr* temples, of which details are provided here were established.

No. B.13

Place: *Tiruvannandūr*. Base of the *cuṟṟumanḍapa*.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 13 lines, each spread out on the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: *Śrīvallavan Kōta*, Governor of *Vēṇaṭu*, is mentioned. As the Māmpaḷḷi copper plate issued by this chieftain (No. B. 11 above) is dated in 149 ME corresponding to 973 AD the present record may be attributed to c. 973 AD in the absence of more precise information.

Contents: Temple Inscription. *Śrīvallavan Kōtai*, Governor of *Vēṇaṭu*, made land gift to the temple. Arrangements are then made for leasing out the lands. *Perumān Aṭikaḷ* is mentioned. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Full power to die and kill is granted to the *Munnūṟṟuvar*, appointed guardians of the endowment. *Mūḷkkaḷa kaccam* is mentioned.

Publication: *T.A.S.*, II, No. 4 (A), pp. 22-4. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: The reference to Perumān Aṭikal in this record shows that Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇaṭu (Vēṇāṭutaiya), was subject to the Cēra king though his three records (Māmpaḷli copper plate,) the present record and the one that follows) do not mention the regnal year of the sovereign.

No. B. 14

Place: Tiruvanmaṇḍūr. Base of the curṇumaṇḍapa.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 6 lines, all spread out on stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, is mentioned. C. 973 AD. See Māmpaḷli plate of Śrīvallavan Kōta. Index no. B. 11 for discussion of date.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Śrīvallavan Kōta, Governor of Vēṇaṭu, made land gift to Tiruvāyampāṭi shrine. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Munnūṇruvar is mentioned. Mūḷikkāḷa Kaccam is quoted.

Publication: T.A.S., II, No. 4 (B), pp. 24-5. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: The two records - this and the previous one - might be the products of the same year and date, for they register gifts by the same person to two different shrines in the same temple.

No. B. 15

Place: Dēvidēvēśvaram. Owned by Kollūr Maḍham.

Material: Copper. Sixteen plates with writing on both sides. 284 lines. (8 lines in some and 9 lines in others) Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Kollam year 364. 1189 AD. Reissue of charter issued earlier (C.973 AD) by mother of Śrīvallavan Kōta. Month of Dhanu, 1st day, Saturday, Catayam nakṣatra, King Vīra Udaya Mārttāṇḍa (Varma), King of Vēṇaṭu. The record is claimed to be reissued by the king on request from the Sabha of Dēvidēvēśvaram since the original Praśasti issued by the mother of Śrīvallavan Kōta while the latter was ruler of Vēṇaṭu has decayed and become illegible. Therefore it may legitimately be expected to follow the same old lines as far as possible, i.e., to reproduce the system established in C. 973 AD.

Contents: Royal Charter. This is the renewal of the original endowment for the routine expenses of a temple and the maintenance of a Brahmin settlement around the temple. Provision is made by setting apart land for Akanāḷikai expenses, viḷas or festivals, Virutti of hereditary temple servants, and Jivita for casual employees, and Brahmasvam for 23 families. Rules for the management of all the property are framed and fine prescribed for violating rules.

Publication: T.A.S. IV. No.7. PP. 22-65; Photos, Tamil transliteration, English abstract of contents, and Index of land assignments and place names.

Remarks: This inscription reveals the constitution of a typical temple-centered Brahmin settlement founded in the Cera period in Kerala.

No. B.16

Place: Tiruvaḍūr. Partly in the courtyard of the temple on either side of the Sōpāna and partly in the sanctum sanctorum.

- Material:** Stone. Three slabs of granite forming second, third and fourth parts of record with writing on one side. The first part is not traced. 32 lines (11 + 12 + 9) Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam and Sanskrit.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 1020 AD. The scribe is mentioned as the royal goldsmith of the Mūṣaka king. The royal officer is mentioned as Irāman Cēmāni. From this it may be inferred that the record was executed when Cēmāni (Jayamāni) was Governor of Mūṣaka or soon after his time. This Jayamāni was the immediate predecessor of Valabha according to *Mūṣakavamsākāvyā*. The kāvyā says that the former sent his nephew Valabha to help the Kerala king preparing to oppose the Cōla invasion. This event gives a landmark in the region of Jayamāni which, according to the chronological scheme proposed by the present writer, may be placed in the last decade of the 10th century. See M.G.S. Narayanan, 'History from the Mūṣakavamsā', *Proceedings of the A.I.O.C.*, Jadhavpur, 1969 and *Atishānaśilakalā*, pp. XVI- XVII. Therefore the present record may be attributed to the last decade of the 10th century or the first two decades of the 11th century. The kāvyā states that Valabha, the successor of Jayamāni, installed Ārya (Śāsta) at Vatukēśwaram (Tiruvāḍūr) and that his successor Śrīkaṇṭha renovated the temple. The present record may belong to the time of this renovation and may be assigned to C.1020 AD - a known date in the reign of Śrīkaṇṭha. See *Eramam* inscription of Bhāskara Ravi, 58th year, (A Series) No. A. 40 above.
- Contents:** Royal Charter. Creation and endowment of a Brahmin settlement with 24 members drawn from 5 old Brahmin settlements of central Kerala i.e. Vaikkam, Paravūr, Āvaṭṭiputtūr, Irīññālakkūda, and Peruvanam. Hereditary tenure is specified. Fines are prescribed for violation of rules. Witnesses are mentioned. The concluding portion in Sanskrit mentions Mūṣikēśavara suvarṇakāra, (goldsmith of the Mūṣaka king) and contains an invocation for divine grace.
- Publication:** Nos. 477 and 478 of 1926. Unpublished. They are noticed as two separate inscriptions but they really form part of one. The present writer examined the two blocks containing no. 477 of 1926 lying outside the shrine on 19-1-'69 and copied the text from there. It was not possible at that time to examine the block containing no. 478 of 1926 kept inside the sanctum sanctorum of the shrine. The text of this part was copied from the estampage in the Govt. epigraphist's office, Mysore.
- Remarks:** This record reveals the practice of selecting Brahmins from different old grāmas when a grāma settlement is established or enlarged. It brings out the close links between Kōlattunāṭu and other parts of Kerala in the 11th century and gives additional proof of the historical authenticity of the later chapter of *Mūṣakavamsā kāvyā*.
- No.** B.17
- Place:** Vellūr. Wall to the left of entrance in temple.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 12 lines. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu and Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam and Sanskrit.
- Date:** Kali Day 1510707 (expired) in words. (22nd of March 1035 AD) Month of Māgha. Saturday.
- Contents:** Temple Inscription. Records the construction of an ambalam at Tiruvellūr. Ends with a benedictory verse in Sanskrit.
- Publication:** No. 66 of 1965-6. Unpublished.

Remarks: The Sanskrit Śloka at the end of an ordinary donative record is a rare feature.
No. B. 18
Place: Trikkākara. Outside wall of the south base of the Maṇḍapa at the proper right of entrance.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 2 lines, each of them spread out on the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Tirukkāḷkkarai Perumāḷ's year 105 in words. Jupiter in Mēṭam. Month of Kaṇṇi. C.1050 AD. The Government Epigraphist has deciphered the opening passage as 'Tirukkākaraiipperumāḷ Tarvaticcanceyartaruḷiccellārinra mūvāyiratteḷunūṟṟaiyyā-māṇṭaikketirāṇṭu'. Finding it impossible to assume that the temple was constructed 3705 years before the record, the script of which, according to him, showed 13th century characteristics, he thought that there might have been at least such a belief or tradition. The present writer would suggest 'nūṟṟāyirattoḍu' in place of 'mūvāyiratteḷu' so that actually the 105th year of the temple is intended. The earliest datable inscription from Trikkākara is on the 10th year of In-du Kōṭa (954 AD) and, it is likely that the temple was founded somewhere about the beginning of that century. Therefore the present record may belong to C.1050 AD. and the script and language really suggest the 11th century.

Contents: Temple inscription. Cāttan Ci---n, Governor of Kāḷkkaraināṭu, makes a gift on his birth day to the temple.

Publication: T.A.S. III, No. 44, pp. 184-5. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: The date suggested by the Government Epigraphist is untenable and the present writer has put forward another interpretation of the passage. (See above.) This record yields at least an approximate idea of the period of the foundation of the foremost Vaiṣṇava shrine associated with Ōṇam Festival, besides providing another example of the popularity of temple eras in that age.

No. B. 19

Place: Trikkākara. South base of the Cuṟṟumaṇḍapa in temple.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite. 2 lines, each running across the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date; Year Nil. C. 11th century. Jupiter in Mithuṇam, Month of Ciṅgam. Script and language support this inference. C. 1065? For details, See B. 20 from Trikkāḍiṭhānam temple.

Contents: Temple inscription. In the presence of Aṭikaḷ Māḷuvakkōṇār and Arunūṟṟuvar, Tāmōtiran Eḷuvaratiyāḷ agree to pay fixed amount of rice as rakṣābhōgam for Tāḷuvankuṇṟam. The Potuvāḷmār of Tēvar agree to protect the inhabitants of the village.

Publication: T.A.S. III, No. 47, pp. 188-9. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.

Remarks: This record reveals the title of Māḷuvakkōṇār used by the governor of Kīḷmalai-nāṭu. A certain Kaṇṭan Kumaran alias Māḷuvakkōṇ, Governor of Kīḷmalaināṭu, and Arunūṟṟuvar are mentioned in Tiruvalla plates. (A. 80. L. 351) and a stone inscription from Trikkāḍiṭhānam temple (B.20). The donor of this record cannot be far removed from Kaṇṭan Kumaran alias Māḷuvakkōṇār mentioned in these places.

- No. **B. 20**
 Place: Trikkāḍiṭhānam. Base of the central shrine.
 Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 7 lines, each spread on the stones. Script - Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
 Date: Year Nil. 11th century. Jupiter in Etavam. Month of Kumbam. Monday. Tiruvōṇam nakṣatra. References to Kaccam, 'kaḷaiṇṇu' of gold, and the script and language indicate the 11th century. The astronomical data yields 1064 AD as a possible date.
 Contents: Temple committee resolution. Ūr and Potuvālmār, meet in the presence of Kiḷmalai Arunūruvar, Nanṇūlaināṭṭu Munnūruvar and Paṇi Ūṭaiyavakaḷ and accept the gift of Cērikkaḷ for Nandāvilakku from Kaṇṭan Kumaran alias Māḷuvakkōn, Governor of Kiḷmalaināṭu, and lease it out to Kōṭikkaḷattu Iyakkān Kōvinnan. The rent is fixed in terms of Paddy and gold. The scribe is mentioned by name.
 Publication: T.A.S., V, No. 59, pp. 181-3. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
 Remarks: This record gives the price of paddy in gold. 1 Kaḷaiṇṇu of gold = 2 Kalam of paddy.
- No. **B. 21**
 Place: Rāmantaḷi at the foot of Eḷimala. Base of central shrine of Narayanakaṇṇūr temple.
 Material: Stone. Three blocks of granite with writing on one side. 9 lines (2 + 3 + 4). Script - Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
 Date: Kali Day 1523929 expressed by the chronogram 'Dhareddhō Gurumukhyanaḷ', 1075 AD. The Government Epigraphist's report states the chronogram and Kali day but does not give its corresponding year in Christian era. A later report in 1970 (used by the Archaeological survey, southern circle) mentions the date as 1132 AD. Evidently they got this year by dividing the Kali day with 360 and finding the corresponding year in Christian era. Actually the Kali day is to be divided by 365 and not 360 and this result (1075 AD.) is justified by the king's name. King Kunda Āḷupar is mentioned. He is mentioned in a Sanskrit record of Kali 4168 (1068 AD) from Kadri Maṇjunātha temple also. (See S.I.I., VII, p.87).
 Contents: Temple Inscription. Hiranyagarbhan caused the construction of the image. The Śrīkōyil was built in granite with the help of Kunda Āḷuparāiyar. Candraśekharaṇ constructed the shrine. This was done in the times of Kuṇṇan Bhaṭṭan and Bhaṭṭa Nārāṇan.
 Publication: No. 475 of 1926. The Government Epigraphist's version has not been published. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭisthānaśilakaḷ*, pp. 106-109. Vaṭṭeḷuttu text, Mal. translation, translation and notes.
 Remarks: This short record shows the time of the renovation of the temple where an original endowment is registered in 928 AD. (No. 474 of 1926. No. B.3 above) It is the second dated inscription of Kunda Āḷupar who probably exerted influence in this region.
- No. **B. 22**
 Place: Tirukkulaśekharaṇapuram. Step in front of the central shrine.
 Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 9 lines. Script - Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.

- Date:** Tirukkulaśēkharapuram temple year 195. Month of Makaram. Uttiram nakṣatra. C. 1075 AD. The foundation of this temple must be associated with the royal Vaiṣṇavite saint Kulaśēkhara, as it is the biggest Viṣṇu temple of the Cēra capital. The only Kulaśēkhara known to epigraphy before the last Perumāl is Sthānu Ravi Kulaśēkhara (844-883 AD). If he is identified as the royal saint and the foundation of the temple placed in the end of his reign, somewhere about 880 AD, we get c. 1075 AD as the date of the present inscription. The script and language suggest the latter part of the 11th century.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Taḷi and Taḷi Adhikārikaḷ meet and Vempalanāṭṭu Pōjan Iravi, the keeper of the treasury, accept gold from Nakkanalijyakattu Kōvinna Tāmotiran for instituting a kūttu (dance drama) in conformity with the rules of the temple.
- Publication:** No. 226 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 790, 340. Tamil transliteration. *T.A.S.*, VI, II, pp. 193-4. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** Read 'taḷikkucellānirayāṇṭu' in place of 'taḷikkuc....rayāṇṭu' in Ll. 1-2. (correction by the present writer from original stone). This record gives an approximate idea of the foundation of the temple. It mentions a treasure of the temple and Kūttu (dance dram) conducted there.
- No.** B. 23
- Place:** Kiṇālūr. Site of ruined temple. The stone is not to be traced.
- Material:** Stone. Slab of granite with writing on two sides. 53 lines (32 + 21). Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Tirukkālīyappaṭāra's consecration year 189. Jupiter in Makaram. Month of Mēṭam. Wednesday. Avittam nakṣatra. 1083 AD. Mentions Vijayarāgiśvaram, i.e. temple of Vijayarāga (883 - C. 913 AD). Since Vijayarāgiśvaram must have been founded between 883 and 913 AD, the 189th year must be found between 1072 of 1102 AD. In these years, February 22nd of 1083 AD agrees with the astronomical data furnished.
- Contents:** Temple Inscription. Provision is made for Tiruppali Cānti, Kuṭai, Cantaṇam, Paḷittāṁam, Nandāvilakku, Akkiram and Kūttu by Arappan Kuñci alias Kuṟumpuṟai who donated lands to Kuṇavāynallūr and leased them out to Cāttan Arukkaṭi of Tiruvañcikkalām, and Kuṇṇan Cīruṇāṅkai and Cāttan Cīrukaṇṭan. Manukulaicēkaranallūr is mentioned. Munnūṟruvar and Muwāyiravar are mentioned.
- Publication:** No. 14 of 1901. *S.I.I.*, VII, No. 174, p. 74. Tamil transliteration.
- Remarks:** Read 'Kālīya' in place of Kalica' in L.1. Read 'Tiruvabhiṣēkan' in place of 'Tiruv....n' in L.2. Read 189 in place of 159 in L.3. Read 'Kuṇavāynallūr' in place of 'Kuṇaviyanallūr' in L.6 and Ll. 44-5. Read 'Paḷikkku' in place of 'Paṭārarkku' in L.7. Read 'Celuttavallātākkil' in place of 'Celutta....' in L.22. Read 'Celuttavallātākkil' in place of 'Celutta....' in L.22. Read 'Kūttuncelutti' in place of 'kuttarecelutti' in Ll. 47. Read 'kaṭavor munnūṟruvarum' in place of 'kaṭavelunūṟruvarum' in Ll. 50-51. (Corrections by the present writer from estampage in Government Epigraphist's office, Mysore). This record is important in many ways. It brings out the existence of a paḷli (Jain temple) called Vijayarāgiśvaram and another called Manukulaicēkaranallūr. The former throws light on Vijayarāga's contacts with this part of the country described in *Mūṣakavamsa kāvya*. It refers to Munnūṟruvar, probably of the junior prince of Kuṟumporaiṇāṭu, for the first time. It refers to

Kuṇavāynallūr as a Jain temple, thereby suggesting the importance of Kuṇavāy, near the capital, as a Jain centre.

No. B. 24

Place: Kaṇṇapuram. Fixed on a platform outside the Prākāra of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on four sides. 71 lines (16 + 20 + 21 + 14). Script-Vatṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Udayavarma alias Rāmakuṭa Mūvar is mentioned. Regnal year Nil. C. 1122 AD. A certain Udayavarma of Kōlattunāṭu is mentioned as feudatory of the last Cēra Perumāḷ in *Kēraḷōḷpatti* chronicle. If this last Perumāḷ is identified as Rāma Kulasēkhara, the Mūvar (king of Kōlattunāṭu) of the present record may be assigned to c. 1122 AD. The script and language would support this inference.

Contents: Temple Inscription. Gives details of land set apart for the routine expenses of Tirukkannapuram Tēvar, like Oḷukkavi, Tiruvilakku, Cāntivirutti etc. A certain Nākasvāmi and Pairavasvāmi created the Prasasti in the presence of Utaiyavarma alias Ramakuṭa Mūvar. A certain Kuṇṇan Kaṇṇan alias Kuṇṇamaittiṭṭai Nampiyār and son are stated to have made the pratiṣṭha.

Publication: No. 476 of 1926. Unpublished. The present writer jointly with M.R. Raghava Vari-
er copied the text on 27-9-'69 from the original stone.

Remarks: The name of Udayavarman alias Rāmakuṭa Mūvar of the beginning of the 12th century is brought to light by this inscription. It corroborates the statements of *Kēraḷōḷpatti* chronicle regarding the last phase of the Cēra kingdom of Makōtai.

No. B. 25

Place: Mādāyi. Within the Muslim mosque.

Material: Copper. Single slab with writing on one side. Script-Arabic. Language-Arabic.

Date: Hijera 518. This year corresponds to 1124 AD.

Content: Commemoration plaque in the Muslim mosque. States that the mosque was founded in Hijera 518 (1124 AD)

Publication: No. 446 of 1929. Unpublished. Logan, *Malabar*, II, Appendix XXI, p. ccl XVIII. English abstract. Innes and Evans, *Malabar*, pp. 25, 424. English abstract.

Remarks: This record is of crucial importance to a controversial problem. There is a tradition, supported by Hindu chronicles like *Kēraḷōḷpatti* and Muslim works like *Toḥfut-ul-Mujahideen*, that the last Cēra Perumāḷ embraced Islam and left the country for Mecca and afterwards his messengers founded the first ten mosques of Kerala including the one at Mādāyi. The date of the mosque at Mādāyi found in the present record has to be placed against this background. However, when this record was first noticed, its relevance to this Cēramān problem was not realised as it was believed that the Cēra kingdom disintegrated in the 9th century. Prof. Eḷamkuḷam showed that the Cēra kingdom continued until 1102 AD. The present writer maintains on the strength of the reference to Cēramānār Rāmar in the Tiruvalāṇḷuḷi inscription that the kingdom continued for twenty years more, i.e., until 1122 AD. This brings us near the date of the Mādāyi mosque founded in 1124 AD and lends more authenticity to the Cēramān legend regarding the last king's conversion to Islam and his message.

Table c.

Records undated but approximately datable

- No.** C. 1
- Place:** Trichambaram. Base of the central shrine.
- Material:** Stone. Two blocks of granite with writing on one side. 12 (8 + 4) lines. Damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. Jupiter in Eṭavam. Month of Dhaṇu. C. 11th century.
- Contents:** Mānavēpala Mānaviyatan, Governor of Ērānātu creates endowment for Tīruviḷakku at Tiruccemmaram. A certain Kāpāli Nārāyaṇan Bhaṭṭavijayan, some land, and the arrangements for weekly supply of oil are also mentioned.
- Publication:** Nil. This was discovered and deciphered by the present writer in November, 1970.
- Remarks:** The name of Mānavēpala Mānaviyatan, Governor of Ērānātu is interesting as it appears in the same way as in the Cochin Jewish Copper plates of Bhāskara Ravi, 38th year (A series), 1000 AD, no. A. 34 above. This appears to be a hereditary title for the governors of the division.
- No.** C. 2
- Place:** Māṇiyūr. Outside the Prākāra of the temple.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on four sides. 75 lines (20 + 12 + 19 + 24). Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. Jupiter in Eṭavam. Month of Karkkātaka. C. 11th century. The script and language as well as the references to Mūlikkaḷa kaccam and Kaḷaṇcu and Kāṇam would support this inference.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Ūr and Potuvāḷ of Māṇiyūr and the Kōyil unani- mously make regulations regarding the lands assigned for the routine expenses in the temple. Mūlikkaḷa Caṅkētam is quoted. The Akappotuvāḷmār and Uvaccakaḷ are made tenants of the temple.
- Publication:** No. 447 of 1929. Unpublished. The present writer copied the text, jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier, in November 1969 from the original stone.
- Remarks:** The extension of the sway of Mūlikkaḷattu kaccam to Kōlattunātu in the 11th cen- tury is established by this inscription.

No. C. 3

Place: Kurriyāṭṭoor. Courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on both sides. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Nil. C. 11th century. The script would suggest this inference.

Contents: Temple inscription. Land gift to temple.

Publication: No. 524 of 1930. Unpublished.

Remarks: Nil.

No. C. 4

Place: Vēḷam. Courtyard of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on four sides and above. 62 lines (12 + 13 + 16 + 17 + 4). Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Nil-C. first half of 12th century as shown by script and language.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Lays down punishment for those who obstruct Tiruvārāṭinai, pūmi, and puruṣar of Vēḷattu Tēvar as well as their accomplices.

Publication: No. 525 of 1930. Unpublished. The present writer copied the fragmentary text in December 1964 from the original stone.

Remarks: Nil.

No. C. 5

Place: Kāliyampallī. Courtyard of the temple, near the balipīṭha.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 15 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil C. 11th century. The Script and language would suggest this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Sabhai and kaṇṭan Raṇamāni alās Polaiṽar, probably the Governor Pōlaināṭu, makes provision for Viḷakku in the temple.

Publication: No. 8 of 1901. S.I.L., VII, No. 167, p. 70. Tamil transliteration.

Remark: Read: 'Kaṇṭan Raṇamāni' in place of 'Kaṇṭanaraṇmāni o Ll. 1-2. Read 'Kūṭi' in place of 'Kāṭi' in L. 2. Read 'tirukkoyilirkkārum' in place of 'tirukkōyilirkkūrum' in L. 8. This record suggests that that Pōlanāṭu mentioned in *Kēraḷpattī* chronicle existed in the 11th century in this region.

No. C. 6

Place: Kāliyampallī. In the corner of the courtyard of a small shrine outside the main Bhagavati temple. A fragmentary copy of this inscription is found in a neighbouring compound also.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 11 lines. Highly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language and the use of dots to denote a pure consonant would suggest the date.

Contents: Virakkal inscription. States that Cuvānikalkaṭimalar Cēvakan Pirantapa Mārttāṇṭan died there.

Publication: No. 231 of 1960-1. Unpublished. The present writer copied the text from the original stone in February 1969.

Remarks: This is very important as no other Virakkal inscription has been found so far in the Cēra kingdom. The present writer discovered a fragmentary copy of this inscription in a neighbouring compound and the sculpture of a warrior-like figure on a stone which was, according to the owner, once part of the inscription. This finding confirms the present writer's decipherment and the identification of the record as a Virakkal inscription.

No. C. 7

Place: Karikkāḍ, near Mañjēri. Floor of the entrance corridor through the Vātilmāṭam of the Ayyappa shrine.

Material: Stone. Two slabs with writing on one side. 27 lines (17 + 10). Fragmentary. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. 10th century. The Script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple inscription. The beginning and end of each line is cut off so that sentences cannot be reconstructed. Mentions Tacciyūr, cantāṇam (irupalam), Cālaippu(ram), Eṇṇaikkāṭu, Praśasti, māṭṭparigr(ham), tirukkōyil etc.

Publication: No. 234 of 1960. Unpublished.

Remarks: The Govt. epigraphist's summary in the annual report mentions 'kīṭaippuram' but this is actually 'cālaippuram' meaning land assigned to Śālai or vedic college. This record is perhaps the earliest (10th century) recovered from Karikkāṭṭu grāma-kṣētra. This is one of the 32 original Brahmin settlements mentioned in *Kēraḷōḷpatti* chronicle.

No. C. 8

Place: Karikkāḍ, Mañjēri. Base of the Subrahmanya shrine to the right of Sōpāna.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 10 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language and reference to Kaḷaṇṇu and Kāṇam support this inference.

Contents: Temple inscription. Paiyyanāṭṭu Iravi Kēlan, the Uvaccan, makes land gift for Uttamākkiram for Tirukkarikkāṭṭu Mēltēvar with land that he purchased. Fine prescribed for violation of rules.

Publication: No. 235 of 1960-1. Unpublished. The present writer, jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier, copied the text in April 1970 from original stone.

Remarks: Though the wording is similar to those which quote Mūlikkaḷa kaccam it is not mentioned here.

No. C. 9

Place: Karikkāḍ, Mañjēri. Base of the Subrahmanya Shrine to the right of Sōpāna.

Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 8 lines? Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language are of the same type as that of the previous one.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Tiruvakkiram is instituted at Tirukkarikkāṭu. Iyakkan Irāman received gold and made over his land for the purpose.
- Publication:** No. 236 of 1960-1. Unpublished. The present writer, jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier, copied the text in April 1970 from the original stone.
- Remarks:** Middle and end portions damaged.
- No.** C. 10
- Place:** Karikkāḍ, Mañjēri. Base of the Subrahmanya shrine to the right of Sōpāna.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 13 lines. Damaged, incomplete. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language are of the same type as that of the two previous ones (C.8 and 9, above). 'Kaḷaṇṇu' is mentioned.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Land is purchased for gold and assigned for Tiruvakkiram in Tirukkarikkāṭu temple. Items for feast like ghee and curd are mentioned.
- Publication:** No. 237 of 1960-1. Unpublished.
- Remarks:** Highly damaged.
- No.** C. 11
- Place:** Karikkāḍ, Mañjēri. Floor of the sanctum sanctorum.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 11 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language would support this inference. They are of the same type as that of three previous ones. (C. 8, 9 and 10 above). 'Kaḷaṇṇu' mentioned.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Prohibition of obstruction to cultivation in temple property. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules.
- Publication:** No. 238 of 1960-1. Unpublished. The present writer copied the text in May 1970 from estampage in the Government Epigraphist's office, Mysore.
- Remarks:** This is only a fragment, probably the last part of an inscription.
- No.** C. 12
- Place:** Pulpaṇṇa, near Mañjēri. Base of the shrine to the right of Sōpāna.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 21 lines. Damaged. Script- Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language and references to Kaḷaṇṇu and Kāṇam support this inference.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Pulapporṇai Ūr, Kōyil, Ēraḷanāṭṭu Aṟumūṟṟuvar and Eṭattiraināṭṭu Munnūṟṟuvar unanimously make provision for 'ūṭṭu' by assigning land to the temple. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Ūraḷar are authorized to take over from Pāṭṭavāḷan in case of obstruction.

Publication: No. 282 of 1969. Unpublished. The present writer, jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier, copied the text on 13th April, 1970 from the original stone.

Remarks: This record mentions for the first time the Aṟunūṟruvar Ēṟālanāṭu and the Munnūṟruvar of Ēṭattaranāṭu, the two offices or bodies being unknown to other sources. Ēṭattaranāṭu, a subdivision of Ēṟālanāṭu, is mentioned for the first time.

No. C. 13

Place: Muduvallūr. Broken pillar in the Perumṭṛkōvil temple.

Material: Stone. Four slabs of granite with writing on one side. 55 lōnes. (16 + 15 + 11 + 13). The last two pieces are completely damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language suggest this inference.

Contents: Temple inscription. Potuvālmār etc. make provision for Ōṇam celebration by the assignment of land for the purpose. Tiruvamutu, Tiruviḷakku etc are mentioned.

Publication: Nil. This inscription was discovered and deciphered by the present writer in 1970.

Remarks: The temple itself is completely ruined but is being renovated.

No. C. 14

Place: Rāmanāṭṭukara. Courtyard of Parihārapuram temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite forming part of an inscription, with writing on one side. 13 lines. Fragmentary. Script- Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. The Script and language and the reference to Mūlikkaḷattu kaccam support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Ūṟālan, Potuvāḷ, etc. make some arrangements probably in connection with land gift to the temple. Mūlikkaḷattu Kaccam quoted. Only a fragment without beginning and end has been discovered.

Publication: Unpublished. The present writer discovered and deciphered it in June 1963 from original stone.

Remarks: This inscription proves the antiquity of the temple.

No. C. 15

Place: Tirumaṟṟakōḍe, near Pattambi. Balikkal of the temple.

Material: Stone. Single block of granite with writing on one side. 4 lines. Highly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 10th century. The script exhibits characteristics of this period in Kerala.

Contents: Temple inscription. Object is not clear. Seems to record land gift for food offering to the temple.

Publication: No. 62 of 1945. Unpublished.

Remarks: The record in itself is unimportant since it is fragmentary and undated but it calls attention to the antiquity of the temple. This is important as Kulaśēkhara

Ālvār mentions certain Tiruviṭṭuvakōṭu in *Perumāḷ Tirumōḷi* and while some scholars have identified this with a place in Tamilnāṭu, others have identified it with this temple. See Index No. A. 52 also.

- No. C. 16
Place: Panniyūr, Courtyard of the temple near the entrance.
Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 23 lines. Highly damaged Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam
Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language would support this inference.
Contents: Temple committee resolution. Potuvāl, Aṇunūṇṇuvar and a person belonging to Intiyanūr meet on the maṇḍapa and make some agreements regarding property of a temple. The gift of Ūrāṇmai, Tāṇam, and Paraṭai of another subsidiary temple to the Ūrār of Panṇiyūr is registered. The scribe is mentioned by name.

Publication: No. 214 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 778, p. 336. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: The record in itself is unimportant, being fragmentary and undated. However, it establishes the antiquity of the grāmakṣētra of Panniyūr which played a prominent part in the medieval history of Kerala. Read 'Ūrāṅkkūrāṇmaiyyum' in place of 'Ūrāṅkkaranmaiyyum' in L.13. Correction made by the present writer in December, 1963, from original stone.

- No. C. 17
Place: Cōkiram (Śukapuram). Eastern side of courtyard in temple.
Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 22 lines. Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
Date: Year Nil. 10th century. The Script and language support this inference.
Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paraṭaiyār and Iḷaiyār of Cōkiram meet in the presence of Kōyil and receive a kiḷitu from Iravi Tēvi Amman for Tiruvijakku and entrust it to Taviraṇūr Pāṭṭavālan. Taviraṇūr kaccam is quoted. Limits are imposed on the rights of Ūrālar in the kiḷitu.

Publication: No. 208 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 772, p. 334. Tamil transliteration. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭiṭṭhāṇaśilakal*, p.53. Malayalam transliteration, translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'Paraṭaiyāru kōyilunkūṭi' in place of 'paral (pāl) iruyilaiyāṁkalanattum' in Ll. 2-3. Read 'valayai ceyavupperār' in place 'palayai ceyyapperār' in L.17. Read 'ūrālarikkaccam' in place of 'U...kaccam' in Ll. 20-21. This is one of the two records - the other being a Tripraṅgōḍe inscription of Kōta Ravi, 27th year, 910 AD * - quoting Taviraṇūr kaccam. In elaborating the rules it includes a prohibition of 'Kaṭṭilēral', i.e. concubinage by Ūrālar in the kiḷitu region. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone). A dot is employed above the line to show the pure consonant in germination.

- No. C. 18
Place: Cōkiram (Śukapuram). Base of the second pillar of Vātilmāṭam in the temple.
Material: Stone. Single block of granite with writing on four sides. 19 lines (4 + 5 + 5 + 5). Damaged. Script - Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
Date: Year Nil. 10th century. The script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Irāyiravar (Rājasēkhara), Potuvāḷ, Āḷkōyil, Ūrār etc conferring Ūrāṇmai, Tāṇam, and Paraṭai of some temple on some persons. The Ūrār of the two villages are enjoined to supervise temple affairs in the two places.

Publication: No. 209 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 773, p. 334. Tamil transliteration.

Remarks: Read 'Cōkirattu Ūrārum Irāyacēkaraṇēṇa Irāyiravaru vaḷḷuvuru potuvāḷum' in place of 'Cōkirattu toravam muriya cōkaraṇēṇa Irāyiravaru vivatavūr potuvāḷum' in LI. 1-3. Read 'Tēvakāriyamum' in place of 'Tēvaka---yamuva' in L.16. (Correction by the present writer from original stone.) This record refers to the foundation of a new settlement under the supervision of Cōkiram.

No. C. 19

Place: Cōkiram (Śukapuram). Base of the first pillar of the Vātilmāṭam in temple.

Material: Stone. Single block of granite with writing on four sides. 15 lines (4 + 4 + 3 + 4) Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. 10th century. The script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. A number of persons whose names are given are stated to have founded and donated a Dēvasvam for which they themselves are made Ūrājar by Cōkirattu kaccam.

Publication: No. 210 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 774, p. 335.

Remarks: Read 'ūrāṇmaikalai' in place of 'ūrāmaikalai' in LI. 14-5. (Correction by present writer from original stone). This record refers to the foundation and constitution of a new temple-centered village.

No. C. 20

Place: Cōkiram (Śukapuram). Stone built into the pavement of the courtyard in temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 17 lines. Incomplete, script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. Close of the 9th century. This mentions the original Tavaragūr kaccam which is quoted in a Tripuraṅḡḍe inscription of Kōṭa Ravi, 27th year (910 AD) cited as no. A. 13 above. The script and language also agree with the close of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th century.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paraṭaiyār, ḷaiyār of Cōkiram, Kōyil, and Irāya Cēkara the Vaḷḷuvu jointly take action to bring under their protection Tavaragūr and the property for its maintenance. A series of prohibitions are mentioned. This must be the original Tavaragūr kaccam which supplied the model for others in the neighbourhood also.

Publication: No. 211 of 1895. *S.I.I.*, V, No. 775, p. 335. Tamil transliteration. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭṭhāṇaśilakāḷ*, pp. 53-4. Malayalam transliteration, translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'paraṭaiyāru ḷaiyārum kōyilāy Irāya cēkararāyiga' in place of 'paraṭaiyāru... Varum... yilay Irāyacēkarāyiga' in LI. 1-2. Read 'kolḷuvutuncelutti kolḷepperār' in LI. 12-13. Read 'ūrāṇmal' in place of 'kāraṇmal' in L.14. This is the only case of a record where the original of a model kaccam is recovered at least in part from a temple. For details, see M.G.S. Narayanan, *Aṭṭhāṇaśilakāḷ*, pp. 45-60.

No. C. 21

Place: Rāyiranallūr, Naḍuvaṭṭam. Near the wall in the Bhagavati temple. Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on both sides. 15 lines. (8 + 7) Fragmentary and damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. 10th century. The script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Damaged. Paraṭaiyār, Akappotuvāḷ etc of Rāyiranallūr make arrangements for supply of rice for offering in temple.

Publication: No. 353 of 1924. Unpublished.

Remarks: The present writer examined the estampage in the Government Epigraphists' office, Mysore. It is largely illegible. Rāyiran being the short form of Rājasēkhara, which is the hereditary title of the Vaḷḷuvar or the governor of Vaḷḷuvanāṭu, Rāyiranallūr mentioned in this record in Vaḷḷuvanāṭu region might be a village name after the chieftain.

No. C. 22

Place: Painkaṇṇūr, Vaḷāñcēri. South side of the passage to Subrahmanya temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 8 lines. Partly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. 11th century. The script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paraṭaiyār and Ūrār of Painkaṇṇūr and Aṭikaḷ Irāyacēkarar make an agreement to the effect that those who obstruct or plunder property set apart for Nāḷpaṅku, Nandāvilakku, Pali etc would be ostracized from the village.

Publication: No. 480 of 1926. No. 1 of 1927-8 of Kerala. Unpublished.

Remarks: The present writer copied and deciphered the fragmentary text from the original stone. Though this record does not quote any kaccam as such it clearly states that offenders will be ostracized from the village.

No. C. 23

Place: Pūkkōṭṭūr, Eḍaiyūr. Courtyard of temple.

Material: Stone. Two slabs of granite with writing on one side. 22 lines (10 + 12). Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 10th century. Reference to Kaḷaiñṇu of gold and Mūḷikkaḷaccavatai as well as the script and language support this inference.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paraṭaiyār, Ūrpaṭṭār, Āḷkōyil, Potuvāḷ and Vaḷḷuvar unanimously decide to accept land gifts for Tiruviḷakku and Nivēccam, and prescribe fine for violation of rules. Mūḷikkaḷaccavatai is quoted. The arrangements are made as long as the sun and moon endure.

Publication: No. 349 of 1924. Unpublished.

Remarks: The present writer copied the text from the original stone. The name of 'Mānavijayan' reminds us of 'Mānavēdan' one of the three hereditary male names in the family of the Zamorins of Calicut. Words like 'Niveccam' and 'cantiṛāti-caval' illustrates certain linguistic peculiarities.

- No. C. 24
- Place: Alanallūr, Mēlāttūr. Base of the central shrine of Mētrikkōvil temple, to the right of entrance.
- Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 7 lines. Fragmentary. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. Reference to Mūjikkaḷakkarakkaccam and Kaḷaiñṇu of gold as well as the script and language support this inference.
- Contents: Temple inscription. The stone contains the imprecatory portion at the end of a record. Registers the donation for rice by Nirccampukkāṭṭu Kaṇṇannanpi. Fine is prescribed for violating rules. Mūjikkaḷakkarakkaccam is quoted.
- Publication: Unpublished.
- Remarks: This record was discovered by P.E.D. Nambūdīri and deciphered by the present writer jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier. It serves to identify the approximate age of the temple.
- No. C. 25
- Place: Alanallūr, Mēlāttūr. Base of Naraḷattu Śrī Rāma temple, to the left of Sōpāna.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 4 lines, each running across the stones. Highly damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. Reference to Mūjikkaḷakaccam as well as the script and language support this inference.
- Contents: Temple inscription. Full sentences cannot be reconstructed. Mentions Mūttār, Kōtan, Ūrālar, Mūjikkaḷakaccam etc.
- Publication: Unpublished.
- Remarks: This record was discovered by P.E.D. Nambūdīri and deciphered by the present writer jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier. It serves to identify the approximate age of the temple.
- No. C. 26
- Place: Polpuḷḷy, Palghat. Site of the ruined temple in Ambalappaṛambu.
- Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 12 lines? Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language - Old Malayalam.
- Date: Year Nil. C. 10th century. Reference to Kaḷaṇṇu as well as the script and language support the inference.
- Contents: Temple inscription. Cēntan Kuṇṇan donates 50 Kaḷaṇṇu of gold for Nandaviḷakku and Nivēdyam to Koḷappaḷḷi Tēvar.
- Publication: No. 283 of 1959. Unpublished.
- Remarks: The record serves to date the temple.
- No. C. 27
- Place: Karippōḍe, Koḍuvāyūr. Site of ruined temple.

- Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on three sides. 10 lines? Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. 11th century. The script and language support the inference.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Kaṇṭa Nārāyaṇan of Ulpāṭṭu illam, Āḷkōyil, and Putuvāḷ enter into an agreement regarding provision for akanāḷikai expenses.
- Publication:** No. 459 of 1929. No. 19 of 1966-7 (Kerala). Unpublished.
- Remarks:** The temple has disappeared completely leaving behind a few scattered stones in the site.
- No.** C. 28
- Place:** Gōdapuram, Ālathūr. Originally found in the ruined site of a Jain temple along with images. Now transferred to Trichur Archaeological Museum.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 21 lines. Partly Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11th century. The Script and language support this inference.
- Contents:** Jain temple inscription. Nāḷppattēṇṇāyiravar, two paṭṭakaḷ, the Adhikāra of Tirukkuṇavāyil Tēvar, Paṭiṇeṭṭu nāṭṭār etc. make arrangements for management of Vaḷaṇciyar paḷḷi. Those who obstruct its property are to be treated as offenders against Tirukkuṇavāy Tēvar and as those committing the five great sins. The last line seems to mention the year in illegible Grantha characters.
- Publication:** No. 561 of 1908. No. 238 of 1960. Unpublished. See N.G. Unnithan, 'Jain Relics of Ālathūr', *J.L.H.*, XLIV, II, pp. 537-43 for background and photo.
- Remarks:** This is probably the only Jain stone inscription from the Cēra kingdom proper. The references to 'Nāḷppattēṇṇāyiravar' (the forty eight thousand), Vaḷaṇciyar paḷḷi, Tirukkuṇavāy Tēvar, etc throw much new light on the early history of Jainism in Kerala.
- No.** C. 29
- Place:** Peruvamba. Palghat. South wall of central Shrine.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 7 lines (4 + 2 + 1). Fragmentary. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11th century. The script and language support the inference.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Object not clear. Mentions Ceṭṭikaḷ, Paṭiṇeṇbhūmi tiṣai Āyirattaiṇṇūruvar and Vaḷaṇciyar, and Rājendra Cōḷa also.
- Publication:** No. 402 of 1940; No. 196 of 1943-4; No. 4 of 1967-8 (Kerala). Unpublished.
- Remarks:** The Madras Epigraphist's report says that it mentions Ceṭṭikaḷ, Paṭiṇeṇbhūmi tiṣai Āyirattaiṇṇūruvar and Vaḷaṇciyar. The Kerala epigraphist's report says that the record bears a direct reference to Rājendra Cōḷa. This record indicates the extension of merchant guilds into Kerala in the wake of the Cōḷa invasion of Kerala.
- No.** C. 30
- Place:** Paṇamban Taḷi. Base of ruined Nāḷambalam in front of central Śiva shrine.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 9 lines? Incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.

- Date:** Year Nil. C.11th century. Jupiter in Mēṭam. Month of Mithuṇam. The Script and language support the inference.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Ūr of Tirupparampil, Ānāyomukku Kōyil, meet unanimously in the reign of Parappūr Pūmitara Rāyirar and create a cankētam. Four 'Cērikkalū' and Cantanamanuccan are set apart as property for the temple. Fine is prescribed for violating rules.
- Publication:** No. 109 of 1956-7. T.A.S., VIII, p.39. Tamil transliteration.
- Remarks:** This record provides a rare instance of 4 Cērikkal properties being jointly handed over to a temple.
- No.** C. 31
- Place:** Trippayār. Wall of the shrine.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 11 lines (8 + 3). Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C.10th century. Reference to 'Mūlikkaḷam kaccam and 'kaḷaṇicu' as well as the script and language support this inference.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Ūr and Potuvāl of Tiruppuraiyār meet in the presence of Murukanāṭṭu Caṅkaran Kuṟappōḷan and unanimously enter into an agreement making provision for Nandāvilakku, Nivēccam, Kiḷiṭu, Akkiram etc. Fine prescribed for violation of rules. Mūlikkaḷaccavattai quoted.
- Publication:** R.V.R.I.B., IX, II, p. 137. Malayalam transliteration, English translation and notes.
- Remarks:** Read 'irunnu ceyta' in place of 'irineyvetak' in L.2. (Correction by present writer from original stone). This record appears to contain the original endowment of the temple.
- No.** C. 32
- Place:** Tirukkulaśēkharapuram, Koṇṇallūr. Floor of the courtyard of the temple.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 16 lines. Damaged and incomplete. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11th century. Jupiter in Eḷavam. Month of Tulām. Aypiyattiruvōṇam day. The script and language support this inference. The Govt. Epigraphist assigns the script approximately to the end of the 12th century but this is untenable.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. The four Taḷis unanimously agree to divide among themselves the revenue from a land called Neytarṛalai Mēkkāṭu. Those who quarrel with king's servants or Potuvāl shall forfeit their kārāṇmai.
- Publication:** No. 227 of 1895. S.I.I., V, No. 791, p. 340. Tamil transliteration. T.A.S., VI, II, pp. 192-3. Tamil transliteration and notes.
- Remarks:** This unique record establishes the joint administration of Nālu Taḷi or the four temples of the capital and their system of sharing revenue from certain sources. It also highlights the practice of ostracizing offenders with drumbeating and proclamation.

- No. C. 33
- Place: Kīlṭali, Koḍuṅgallūr. Slab originally found in the courtyard of Siva temple. Transferred to Trichur archaeological museum.
- Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 3 lines. Fragmentary and damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: Year Nil. Early part of the 10th century. The script and language support this inference.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Refers to the offering of rice and to places like Kanniyūr and Airāṇikkūḷam.
- Publication: A.R.A.D.C. 1100 ME (1924-25 AD), App. E, No. 36, p. 21. English Summary. A.R.A.D.C. 1103 ME (1927-8), p.4.
- Remarks: This fragmentary inscription brings out the antiquity of Kīlṭali Śiva temple, one of the four chief Ṭali temples of the capital. It also reveals the connection between this temple and Airāṇikkūḷam Brahmin village.
- No. C. 34
- Place: Chēnnamaṅgalam. Built into the Ardhamandapa of Kṛṣṇaswāmi temple in Kōṭṭakkōvilakam.
- Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 10 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: Year Nil. Early part of the 10th century. The script and language support this inference.
- Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paraiyūr Ūrār, Paraṭaiyār, and Potuvāl meet in the temple and unanimously fix the amount of ghee payable as rent by a person on behalf of certain plots of land which are leased out to him. The committee agrees to cancel its rights over the land and the settlers there and guarantee that they shall not increase the amount of ghee.
- Publication: T.A.S., VI, II, No. 135, pp. 189-90. Tamil transliteration, English translation and notes. Eḷamkūḷam, *Parināmaṅgal*, pp. 75-6. Malayalam transliteration, translation and notes.
- Remarks: This record throws light on the relation between the temple authorities and the temple tenants. Prof. Eḷamkūḷam attributes it to the 9th century and considers it as one of the earlier records of Kerala. However, it is not significantly different in language or script from Kōṭa Ravi inscriptions and may be attributed to the early part of the 10th century.
- No. C. 35
- Place: Airāṇikkūḷam. Courtyard of Umāmasheśwara temple.
- Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 14 lines. Script-Grantha for the first two lines and Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha for the rest of the inscription. Language-Sanskrit in the first two lines and Old Malayalam in the remaining portion.
- Date: Year Nil. 10th century. Jupiter in Kumbham. Month of Vriccika. The script and language support this inference.
- Contents: Village Assembly resolution. Ūr of Tiruvallavāḷ, Ūr of Ayirāṇikkūḷam, and the Potuvāḷs of the two Grāmas, meeting at the temple and unanimously deciding to

amalgamate Tiruvallavā, Ayirāṇikkulam and Cērakēśwaram temples, their properties, wealth, honour, dishonor and everything else in order to form an 'ēkagrāma' (single village). The Ūrār of both villages are hereafter required to behave accordingly or lose their position and place in the village. Kaitavārattu kaccam is quoted.

Publication: R.V.R.I.B., IX, II, p. 134. Malayalam transliteration, English translation and notes.

Remarks: This is a unique record registering the voluntary amalgamation of two Brahmin settlements. It throws light on the process by which the settlement of Airāṇikkulam, called Girijāgrahāra in the Sanskrit passage, developed into one of the four leading Brahmin settlements with a representative in the Perumāl's council. The procedure of the unification called 'ēkagrāmam' is mentioned. Kaitavāram kaccam is brought to light for the first time. The Cērakēśwaram (Jayarāgēśwaram) temple commemorates the Cera king Jayarāga or Vijayarāga.

No. C. 36

Place: Airāṇikkulam. Courtyard of Umāmeshēśwara temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 14 lines. Script-Vatṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 9th century. The script and language support this inference. The Govt. epigraphists of Cochin have also placed it in the 9th century. The record may be slightly later than those of Sthānu Ravi.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Paraṭaiyār and Ūrār of Airāṇikkulam meet and unanimously decide to assign certain cērikkal lands for Tiruvārātanai and prescribe the 'irai' for them. Fine and excommunication are prescribed for violation of rules. The author of the resolution is mentioned by name: Nenmeni-maṅgalattu cuvākara nārāyaṇan

Publication: R.V.R.I.B., IX, II, p. 134. Malayalam transliteration, English translation and notes.

Remarks: Read 'puram' in place of 'aram' in L.10. Read 'pūlaiyey' in place of 'piṇayey' in L. 12-13. (Corrections by the present writer from original stone). The imprecatory portion specifies that offenders shall be considered as those who murdered their upādhyāya (spiritual preceptor) and father and kept the mother as wife.

No. C. 37

Place: Uḷiyannūr. Built into the floor of namaskāra maṇḍapa in temple.

Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 33 lines. Damaged. Script-Vatṭeluttu with Grantha. Language -Old Malayalam.

Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. Reference to Amaiccuḷlurutti Kōyil Adhikārikaḷ and Kāṇam of gold as well as the script and language support this inference. The Govt. Epigraphist assigned this to the 12th century but this is untenable.

Contents: Temple committee resolution. Potuvāl, Amaiccuḷluritti Kōyilatikārikaḷ etc. meet in the temple and unanimously make a decision regarding land and tenants in a plot assigned for Nandāvilakku. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules.

Publication: T.A.S., VII, II, No. 15, p. 98. Tamil transliteration and notes.

Remarks: This fragmentary record serves to prove the antiquity of the temple.

- No. C. 38
- Place: Neḍumpuṛam Taḷi. Half wall of Vāṭilmāṭam in entrance corridor of temple.
- Material: Stone. Single slab with writing on one side. 12 Lines. Damaged. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. Gold 'Kaḷaiñcu' is mentioned. Script and language agree with Rāma inscriptions in the same place. Index No. A. 69 and 70.
- Contents: Temple Inscription. It records an arrangement by which a person mortgages his land in return for gold from the temple and agrees to pay rice by way of interest for the sum borrowed.
- Publication: No. 18 of 1106 ME from Cochin State. T.A.S., VIII, p. 45. Tamil transliteration.
- Remarks: This inscription reveals the gold-paddy ratio. 1 kaḷaiñcu of gold = 20 Nāḷi of paddy.
- No. C. 39
- Place: Trikkākara. Base of the Cuṛṛumaṇḍapa to the proper right of entrance.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 12 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century. Jupiter in Tulām, month of Kaṇṇi. The Govt. Epigraphist has ascribed this to the 13th century but this is untenable. The script and language are not substantially different from that of Bhāskara Ravi inscriptions in the same temple. Gold 'Kaḷaiññi' is also mentioned.
- Contents: Temple inscription. While Pōlan Iravi is governor of the Nāḷu, some persons donate dress and ornaments to the temple.
- Publication: T.A.S., III, No. 45, p. 185. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks: This record gives an example of donation of dress and ornaments to the temple.
- No. C. 40
- Place: Kāmapuram, Ambalappuzha. Base of central shrine of Karumāḍi temple.
- Material: Stone. Block of granite with writing on one side. 2 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date: Year Nil. C. 11th century or early 12th century. The script and language support the inference.
- Contents: Temple inscription. States that Putukkōṭṭattu Iravi Irāmam and Kōtai Iravi constructed the Tirikkōl (sanctum sanctorum).
- Publication: No. 58 of 1966. Unpublished.
- Remarks: Read 'putukkōṭṭattu' in place of 'arukkōṭṭattu' in L. 1. (Correction by the present writer from estampage in Govt. Epigraphist's office, Mysore). This is one of the few records to give the name of one who caused the construction of a shrine.
- No. C. 41
- Place: Tiruvannaṇḍūr. Base of the temple.
- Material: Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. 6 lines, each of them spread out on the stones. Script-Vaṭṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.

- Date:** Year Nil. C. 10th century, Jupiter in Karkkataka, Month of Vriccika. Reference to Perumān Aṭikaḷ, Mūjikkaḷam rules, Kaḷaiñṇu of gold, as well as the script and language support this inference.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Kurattikkattu Etiran kaviran purchases land and donates it to Tiruvanmandūr Ūrār for Nandāvilakku and the Ūrār entrust it to five Kaṇattār who are named here. Fine is prescribed for violation of rules. Mūjikkaḷam rule is quoted. Nanṇulanattu Munnūruvar are appointed for supervision.
- Publication:** T.A.S., V, No. 9, pp. 31-3. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** This record throws light on the functions of the Kaṇattār in a temple.
- No.** C. 42
- Place:** Perunna. South base of central shrine of temple.
- Material:** Stone. Blocks of granite with writing on one side. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language- Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11th century. Jupiter in Kaṇṇi. Month of Kaṇṇi. Sunday. Aśvati nakṣatra. References to 'Kaḷaiñṇu' and 'Kāṇam' of gold as well as the script and language support the inference.
- Contents:** Temple committee resolution. Tirunāḷkkaṇattār and Potuvāḷ meet in the temple and unanimously accept land from a person on condition that he and his descendants are appointed as tenants in perpetuity. The land originally belonged to Aṭiccan Kōtai, governor of Muñṇinātu, who mortgaged it to the present owner as surety for a loan of paddy. This land is now given to the temple for Brahmin feeding on ten festival days. Therefore a provision is incorporated to the effect that in case the original loan is repaid and the land taken back by Aṭiccan Kōtai, the Ūrāḷar must invest that amount in another land and nominate the present owner as their tenant again. If the tenant or his descendants withdraw from the commitments, the land is to be cultivated by the Kaṇattār and Potuvāḷ themselves. Fine is prescribed for offences. Etiran Kaviran and his women and children are taken under the protection of the temple committee.
- Publication:** T.A.S., V, No. II, pp. 34-7. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** This record reveals a complicated situation which throws light on the motives of persons who made land-gifts to temples. In this case the donor is surrendering land which was mortgaged to him by the governor of a province for a huge loan. The difficulty in getting repayment anticipated by the creditor, or his fear of a political magnate, seems to have prompted him to seek the protection of the temple.
- No.** C. 43
- Place:** Kumāranallūr. North wall of Nāḷambalam of Bhagavai temple.
- Material:** Stone. Single slab of granite with writing on one side. 18 lines. Script-Vaṭṭeluttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11th century. Jupiter in Kaṇṇi. References to Mūjikkaḷattoḷukkam, Perumān Aṭikaḷ, and 'Kaḷaiñṇu' of gold as well as the script and language support this inference. The Govt. Epigraphist says that it cannot be earlier than the middle of the 13th century but this is untenable.

- Contents:** Village Assembly resolution. Ūr of Kumāranallūr meet in temple and unanimously make certain rules and regulations prohibiting quarrels and violence in temple precincts and aggression against tenants and prescribing fine for Brahmin and Śūdra offenders separately. Mūlikkaḷattoḷukkam is quoted.
- Publication:** T.A.S., III, No. 49, pp. 191-6. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** This record throws light on criminal laws and the relation between Brahmin Ūrālar and the Śūdra settlers in their village.
- No.** C. 44
- Place:** Nāvāykkūlam, Āṟṟiṅgal. Courtyard of the temple.
- Material:** Stone. Slab with writing on both sides. 25 lines (14 + 11). Script-Vatṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 11th century. Reference to Mūlikkaḷacavattai, kaḷeṇicu, and the script and language support the inference.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Ērānāṭṭu Kumaran Kaṇṭan donates gold for Tiruviḷakku for Nāvākkūlattu Tēvar. Regulations for pāṭṭam are specified. Mūlikkaḷacavattai is quoted.
- Publication:** T.A.S., VI, I, No. 68, p. 83. Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** The donation of Tiruviḷakku at Āṟṟiṅgal in South Kerala by a resident of Ērānāṭṭu in North Kerala suggests that probably the man from the North was there on his way to the battle-field where the Cēra army confronted the invading Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya forces.
- No.** C. 45
- Place:** Tirunandikkara. Pillar of the rock-cut cave temple.
- Material:** Stone. Block of granite with writing on one side. 40 lines. Script-Vatṭeḷuttu with Grantha. Language-Old Malayalam.
- Date:** Year Nil. C. 10th century. Reference to Mūlikkaḷacavattai as well as the script support this inference. The Government Epigraphist assigned this to the latter half of the 8th or the first part of the 9th century on the basis of the script but he seems to have been misled by the cave site. In fact, this and the other inscriptions referring to Cōḷa king Rājārāja's invasion, (T.A.S., I, No. XVI, E, pp. 291-2) and 'Kalam arukkal' (T.A.S., III, No. 54, pp. 200-3 and T.A.S., III, No. 56, p. 206) in the cave temple exhibit the same characteristics of script and must be attributed to the same period, i.e., close of the 10th century or beginning of the 11th century.
- Contents:** Temple inscription. Maṅgalaccēri Nārāyaṇan Cīvākaran makes land gift to Tirunandikkaraḷ Paṭārar for Cāntippuṟam, Uvaccakaḷ, Kōyil Uṭaiyār, Paliyār, Tuṭaikkuṁavar and Nandāviḷakku. Mūlikkaḷacavattai is quoted.
- Publication:** T.A.S., III, No. 55, pp. 203-6. Photo, Tamil transliteration, Eng. Translation and notes.
- Remarks:** Read 'Mūlikkaḷacavattai' in place of 'Mūlikkaḷacca-' in L.39. This record shows the southern extension of the authority of Mūlikkaḷacavattai to Tirunandikkara, formerly part of Āy territory, probably on the eve of Cōḷa Rājārāja's invasion.